Ibn Khallikan's

Wafayāt al-A'yān

wa

Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

VOLUME VI

*

Edited by
S. MOINUL HAQ, M.A., Ph.D.
General Secretary and Director of Research,
Pakistan Historical Society

*

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI HOUSING SOCIETY,
KARACHI-5

Pakistan Historical Society Publication

No. 50

Price Rs. 50.00

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

ا	=	a	ض	=	ḍ
ب	=	b	ط	=	ṭ
ت	=	t	ظ	=	ẓ
ث	=	th	ع	=	ʻ
ج	=	j	غ	=	gh
ح	=	ḥ	ف	=	f
خ	=	kh	ق	=	q
د	=	d	ک	=	k
ذ	=	dh	ل	=	l
ر	=	r	م	=	m
ز	=	z	ن	=	n
س	=	s	و	=	ū ; w ; aw
ش	=	sh	ه	=	h
ص	=	ṣ	ی	=	ī; y ; ay

ء = ʼ

Long vowels : ā, ī, ū
Short vowels : a, i, u

CONTENTS

* Serial numbers misprinted in the text.

IBN KHALLIKAN'S

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

---

729 NĀFI', THE *MAWLĀ* OF IBN 'UMAR

Abū 'Abd Allāh Nāfi'[1], the *mawlā* (*or freedman*) of Ibn 'Umar (*No. 243, note.*) was a native of Daylam. He (*was taken prisoner and*) came into the possession of Ibn 'Umar in one of the latter's campaigns. As a *Tābi'ī* he held the first rank, and, as a traditionist, he had for teachers his patron (*Ibn 'Umar*), and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (*No 396, note*). Traditions were delivered on his authority (*by his disciples*) al-Zuhrī (*No. 590, note*), Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (*No. 539, note*), and Mālik Ibn Anas (*No. 524*). He had a high reputation as an exact traditionist and ranked among those trustworthy narrators whose accounts were eagerly listened to, carefully collected and taken as rules of conduct. The greater part of the Traditions delivered by Ibn 'Umar repose on the authority of Nāfi' 's statements. Mālik said : "When I heard Nāfi' deliver a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, I had not the least wish of hearing the same Tradition from any one else." A saying current among the learned in the science of Traditions is : *A relation made by al-Shāfi'ī on the authority of Mālik, and by him on the authority of Nāfi', and by him on the authority of Ibn 'Umar* (such a series) *is really the golden chain* ; so exalted is the merit of each of these narrators. The *shaykh* Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī (*No. 5*) relates the following anecdote in that chapter of his *Muhadhdhab* which treats of marriage feasts and scrambling for sweetmeats; he gives it in the words of Nāfi', himself : "I was walking with 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, and he heard the sound of a

---

1 His father's name is not well ascertained ; it was either *Hurmuz* or *Kāwūs*. (Al-Nawawī, in his *Tahdhīb*).

shepherd's pipe. On this, he stopped his ears with his fingers and went off the high road. Every now and then, he would say to me : Do you hear it still, Nīfi' ? and when I at length answered that I did not, he removed his fingers from his ears and returned to the high-road. He then said to me : 'It was thus I saw the Prophet act (*on a similar occasion*)' ." This tradition presents a difficulty which gave rise to a discussion among the doctors of the law; it is this : "Why did Ibn 'Umar stop his ears so as not to hear the sound of the pipe and yet, instead of ordering his client Nāfi' to do the same, he authorised him to listen, in as much, as he asked him, every moment, if the sound had ceased or not ?" The solution given of this difficulty was that Nāfi', being at that time a mere boy, and not responsible (*for a breach of the law*), it was not necessary to forbid him to listen. This answer gave rise to another question namely : "It is perfectly certain that a declaration made by a boy is not receivable (*in law*) ; why then did Ibn 'Umar put his trust in Nāfi''s declaration touching the cessation of the sound?" this tradition, as handed down to us, serves, to strengthen the argument of those who assert that traditional information delivered by a boy is receivable. This matter formed the subject of a famous controversy, an account of which would be misplaced here. Numerous anecdotes are told concerning Nāfi'. He died in the year 117 (A.C 735-6); or, according to some, in the year 120.

730 NĀFI', *THE QUR'ĀN-READER*

Abū Ruwaym Nāfi', the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Nu'aym and a *mawlā* of Ja'wanah Ibn Sha'ūb al-Shija'ī, was a native of Madīnah and one of the seven principal *Qur'ān-readers*. He was the *imām*[1] of the people of Madīnah ; they conformed to his manner of reading and adopted the readings he preferred. He belonged to the third class (*or generation*) after the Companions

1 The word *imām* designates the person who presides at the public prayer ; but, in the present case, it appears to signify *oracle, a person whose opinions were of the highest authority*. See the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Fidā, Vol. II, page 58.

of Muḥammad and filled the office of *muḥtasib* (*No. 150, note*). His humour was facetious[1] and his complexion dark, extremely dark. Ibn Abī Uways stated as follows: "Mālik (*No.* 525) told me that he read (the *Qur'ān*) under Nāfi' 's tuition. Al-Aṣma'ī (*No.* 354) relates that Nāfi' said to him; "I drew my origin from (a family of) Iṣbahān". It is thus that al-Aṣma'ī's statement is reporduced by Abū Nu'aym (*No.* 32) in the *History of Iṣbahān*. He (*Nāfi'*) had read (the *Qur'ān*) under the direction of Abū Maymūnah a *mawlā* of Umm Salamah, one of the Prophet's wives. He had two pupils who transmitted to posterity his method of *Qur'ān-reading*; one of them was Warsh (*No. 710, note*) and the other Qunbul* (*No.* 305). We have already mentioned them both under the letter *'ayn*.[2] Nāfi' died at Madīnah in the year 169 (A.C. 785-6). This event has been placed under the year 159 and other dates, but the first mentioned is the true one. There are doubts about his surname whether it was Abu 'l-Ḥasan, or Abū 'Abd Allāh,or 'Abd al-Raḥmān, or Abū Nu'aym. The word جعونة (*ja'wanah*) served originally to designate a little, short man; it was afterwards employed as a proper name for men, whether they were short or not. The Ja'wanah here spoken of was a confederate ally of Ḥamzah, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, or, by another account, of al-'Abbās, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. A third statement represents him as a confederate of the Hāshimid family. The word شعوب (*sha'ūb*) was employed primitively to express the idea of death, شجعي (*shija'ī*) signifies *belonging to the tribe of Shija'*, which is a branch of the Banū Āmir Ibn Layth. Al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370) has neglected mentioning this patronymic (in his *Anṣāb*).

---

1 The true reading is فيه دعابة; see Abu 'l-Fidā's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 58, and *Ṭabāqāt al-Qurrā*, MS. *of the Bibliotheque imperiale*, ancien fonds, No. 642, fol. 25 verso. We read there وكان صاحب دعابة و طيب الخلاق "He (Nāfi') was full of gaiety and good humour".

2 The author is here mistaken: the article to which he alludes (*No. 305*) contains a short passage on Qunbul, but does not make any mention of Warsh.

* Qunbul transmitted on the authority of Nāfi' and not Ibn Kathīr. Qālūn transmitted from Nāfi'. The Egyptian edition gives the correct name.—Ed.

731 AL-MUṬARRIZĪ, *THE PHILOLOGER*

Abu 'l-Fatḥ Nāṣir Ibn Abi 'l-Mukārim 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn 'Alī al-Muṭarrizī was a native of Khuwārizm, a legist of the sect (*or school*) of Abū Ḥanīfah (*No.* 738) a grammarian and a philologer. He possessed a perfect knowledge of grammar, philology, poetry and all the branches of literature. He studied in his native town under his father and Abu 'l-Muwayyad al-Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī, (*a native of Makkah and*) the (*ablest*) preacher in Khuwārizm. He had, besides, other preceptors. Traditions were taught to him by a number of masters, one of whom was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Sa'd al-Tājir (*the merchant*). He gained a perfect acquaintance with that science, became a head-man among the Mu'tazilites[1] and preached openly the doctrines of that sect. In the secondary points of Muslim law, he followed the system of Abū Ḥanīfah. He expressed his thoughts with elegance and displayed great talent as a jurisconsult. We owe to him a number of instructive works such as the *Commentary on the Stations* (*Maqāmāt*) of *al-Ḥarīrī*, a treatise which, notwithstanding its concision, affords all the information that can be desired. In his *Kitāb al-Mughrib* (*the furnisher of curious information*) he treats of the strange and uncommon terms employed in the language of the jurisconsults. This work is for the Ḥanafites what the work of al-Azharī (*No. 613*) is for the Shāfi'ites. In it the author shewed that he was not unequal to his task, having assembled there every information that could be wished for. *[His *Mu'rib* (*exact indicator*) was intended as a commentary on the Mughrib ; it is a large work, but rarely to be found. He drew up also a philological treatise entitled the *Iqtinā'* (*sufficiency*), and made an abridgment of the same work. His other productions were an abridgment of the *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*[2], the *Miṣbāḥ*

1 The Mu'tāzilites endeavoured to conciliate faith with reason, religion with philosophy.

2 The *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq (corrector of discourse)* is a philological work composed by Ibn al-Sikkīt, a celebrated grammarian whose life will be found among the *Ya'qūbs*.

*[ ] From "His" to "etc" on p. 5 is omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

(*flambeau*) treating of grammar, the well-known *Muqaddimah* (*introduction*) to the study of grammar, etc.] Students derived great profit from his oral instruction and from his works. In the year 601 (A.C. 1204-5) he entered Baghdād, as a Makkah pilgrim and, as he held the opinions of the Mu'tazilites, he had frequent controversies with the doctors of that city. He gave there lessons in philology and acquired a great reputation, extended fame and wide renown. He composed some poetry, such as the following verses, in which assonances are introduced with great art[1] :

"(*He is*) a fire-box of beneficence, the abundant sparks of which never fail, and a laurel of the hills possessing noble qualities which are never blighted. Precious is the pearl of his glory, copious the flow of his gifts."

In another piece he says :

I should blush to acquire fame were I only to be considered as a frequenter of damsels and an amateur of songs."

He said also :

"Fortune was blind to my just rights, and that was really as bad as if al-Ẓarqā simulated blindness.[2] If you refuse to acknowledge my merit, its voice is sufficiently loud to advertise those who have ears to hear."

He composed a great deal of poetry and in it he made frequent use of assonances. His birth took place in Khuwārizm, in the month of Rajab, 538 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 1144); so he was really, as has been remarked, the successor of al-Zamakhsharī, who died in that year and in the same place (*No. 684*). Al-Muṭarrizī died on Tuesday, the 21st of the first Jumādā, 610 (8th Oct., A.C. 1213), in Khuwārizm. More then three hundred elegies, some in Arabic and some in Persian, were composed on his death. Muṭarrizī means a person who embroiders stuffs and ornaments them with

1 Those assonances disappear, of course, in the translation.

2 This must refer to Zarqā al-Yamāmah (*the blue-eyed maid of al-Yamāmah,*) who was celebrated for her piercing sight and of whom many fables are related. See, the *Essai*, etc., of M. 'Caussin de Perceval, tom. I, p. 100.

stripes. I do not know whether this surname was given to him because he himself was an embroiderer or because one of his ancestors had practised that art. His professor, al-Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad, the preacher above-mentioned, died in Khuwārizm on the 11th of Ṣafar, 568 (2nd October, A.C. 1172).

732 AL-'AZĪZ AL-'UBAYDĪ

Abu 'l-Manṣūr Nizār al-'Ubaydī (*the Fāṭimid*), entitled al-'Azīz bi-Allāh (*august by the grace of God*), was the son of al-Mu'izz, son of al-Manṣūr, son of al-Qā'im, son of al-Mahdī, and sovereign of Egypt and Maghrib. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 700*), his ancestors, his son and his grandchildren. He was publicly declared successor to the throne on Thursday, the 4th of the latter Rabī', 365 (11th Dec., A.C. 975), and he assumed the supreme authority on the death of his father, which event took place on Friday, the 11th of the same month. A different date has been given, as we have remarked in the article on al-Mu'izz. When al-Mu'izz breathed his last, his death was kept secret, till his son, al-'Azīz, was proclaimed khalif. The new sovereign was generous, brave and inclined to forgiveness, even with the power of punishing. His conduct towards Iftikīn al-Turkī (*No. 507*), the mamlūk of Mui'zz al-Dawlah, is well-known : when he got him into his power, he pardoned him and, though the war he had to wage against him cost a heavy sum, he abstained from chastising him. As we have already given a short account of Iftikīn's proceedings in the life of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, we need not repeat it here. The anecdote (*as we have said*), is well-known and proves the mildness and clemency of al-'Azīz. The amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbiḥī (*No. 687*) states, in his History, that al-'Azīz was he who founded the *jāmi'* (*great mosque*) situated near the gate of Cairo called Bāb al-Futūḥ. The foundations were dug and the building was commenced in the month of Ramaḍān, 380 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 990). Farther on, he says : "The Qaṣr al-Baḥr (*the palace on the river-side*), an edifice the like of which had never been raised either in the East or in the West, was built

at Cairo in his reign, as also the Qaṣr al-Dhahab (*the golden palace*), the great mosque in (*the cemetery of*) al-Qarāfah and the castles (*or palaces*) at 'Ayn Shams[1]. He had reddish hair, his eyes were large and dark blue, his shoulders broad. Kind in disposition and condescending, he disliked to shed blood. Being a good judge of horses and falcons, he was passionately fond of the chase and particularly of lion-hunting; he was, besides, a *connaisseur* in jewellery and furniture; to this we may add that he was a man of talent, and skilled in literature" Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī (*No. 356*) mentions him in the *Yatīmah* and gives a piece of verse which he composed on a day of public festivity in which he had put all his family into mourning on account of the death of one of his children. Here is the passage:

"We, the descendants of al-Muṣṭafā (*the chosen one, Muḥammad,*) undergo afflictions which none among us can survive except those who are able to master their grief. Strange that we, of all mankind, must suffer from misfortune! the first of our family had his trials and so also has the last! The people here before us are all rejoicing at their festival; but festivals, for us, are days of mourning."

Here the same author introduces a long paragraph after which he adds these words: "I heard the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ṭayyib relate as follows: The 'Marwānid' (*Umayyad*) who reigned in Spain received from Nizār, the sovereign of Egypt, an insulting and satirical letter to which he replied in these terms: '*You satirize us because you have heard of us; had we ever heard of you, we should make you a reply.*' Nizār felt the severity of this retort and abstained from answering." Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rawḥī says, in his work entitled *Tuḥfat al-Zurafā fi Tārīkh al-Khulafā* (*gift for the ingenious, being a history of the Khalifs*)[2], that this correspondence passed between al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim al-Mustanṣir, the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir and Marwānid sovereign of Spain. According to him, al-Mustanṣir was the author of the insulting

---

1 The ruins of 'Ayn shams (*Heliopolis*) lie at half a day's journey N.E. of Cairo.

2 This work is not noticed by Ḥājjī Khalīfah.

letter and al-'Azīz replied to it in the terms above mentioned; God knows best! In our article on al-Mahdī, Nizār's grandfather (*No. 332*) we have spoken of the genealogy which this family gave for theirs and of the attacks directed against it. The great majority of those who are versed in that branch of study do not consider this genealogy to be true, and we have related, in the life of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (*No. 317*) the conversation which passed, on the subject, between that *sharīf* and al-Mu'īzz, the father of al-'Azīz. The belief in its falsity spread among the public and was generally adopted. Al-'Azīz, in the commencement of his reign, went up into the pulpit, one Friday (*to pronounce the usual Khuṭbah* or invocation), and found in it a leaf of paper on which were inscribed these lines:

"We have heard a doubtful genealogy proclaimed from the pulpit of the mosque; if what you say be true, name your ancestors up to the fifth degree. If you wish to prove your assertion, give us, for your genealogy, one which may be as certain as that of al-Tā'i': If not, leave your pedigree in the shade and enter with us into the great family which includes all mankind. The most ambitious vainly desire to have a genealogy like that of the sons of Hāshim (*the 'Abbāsids*)."

The author of these verses said; *give us, for your genealogy etc.*, because the occurrence took place in the reign of al-Ṭā'i' li-Allāh, the Khalif of Baghdād. Another day, al-'Azīz mounted into the pulpit and found there a piece of paper on which was written:

"We have borne with oppression and with tyranny, but not with infidelity nor folly. If you have the gift of knowing what is hidden, tell us the name of him who wrote this note."

He who composed these lines was led to do so because they (*the Fāṭimid sovereigns*) pretended to possess the knowledge of every thing hidden from man; the anecdotes told of them, on this subject, are well-known. Abu 'l-Raqa'maq Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī (*No. 53*) composed, in praise of al-'Azīz, a *qaṣīdah* of which the eulogistic part is remarkably well turned. The kingdom of this sovereign surpassed in extent that of his father; (*his generals*) conquered for him Emessa, Ḥamāt, Aleppo,

Shayzar and, in the month of Muḥarram, 382 (March-April, A.C. 992), the *khuṭbah* was pronounced for him, at Moṣul, by Abū Duwād Muḥammad Ibn al-Musayyab al-'Uqaylī, the brother of al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab (*No. 708*) and the sovereign of that city and its territory. The name of al-'Azīz was there inscribed on the coinage and the standards; the *khuṭbah* was said for him (*even*) in Yamen. He continued to enjoy his greatness till the year 386; having then set out for Syria, he was taken ill at Bilbays, in one of the last ten days of the month of Rajab (August, A.C. 996). His indisposition sometimes augmented and sometimes diminished; on Sunday, the 25th of Ramaḍān, he got on horseback, at Bilbays, and rode to the bath, from which he proceeded to the lodgings occupied by the *ustād* Abu'l-Futūḥ Barjawān (*No. 109*), the same who was the keeper of his treasury at al-Qaṣr (*the citadel of Cairo*). He stopped there and, on the next morning, Monday, he felt his sufferings increase, and their violence continued till Tuesday morning. His disorder was the stone accompanied with pains in the bowels. He then sent for the *qāḍī*, Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān[1] and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Ammār the Kitāmian, surnamed Amīn al-Dawlah (*the warden of the empire*). This officer was the first native of Maghrib who bore an honorary title[2]. He was the *shaykh* and commander of the Kitāmian troops. Al-'Azīz, having recommended to the care of these officers the interests of his son al-Ḥākim (*No. 715*), sent for the latter and conversed with him on the same subject. Though his illness continued to increase, he remained in the bath and, on quitting it, he expired. This took

1 Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān was born at Qayrawān, A.H. 345 (A.C. 956), aud was taken to Cairo by his father. who accompanied al-Mu'izz to Egypt. Al-'Aziz appointed him chief *qāḍī* of all Egypt, of Makkah and Madīnah and of the military colonies (*jund*) in Syria. He chose him also to preside at the public prayer, and nominated him director of the mint and intendant of weights and measures. Ibn al Nu'man filled those offices during fourteen years and died on the fourth of Ṣfar A.H. 389 (January, A.C. 999). Many members of his family occupied high judicial situations. (*Hist. of the Kāḍis of Cairo*, MS. of the Bibl. imp. No. 691. This manscript was written for the use of the author and bears his corrections).

2 This is an error: Bulukīn the Zīride received from al-Mu'izz, the father of al-'Azīz, the title of Sayf al-Dawlah (*sword of the empire*).

place on Tuesday, the 28th of Ramaḍān, 386 (14th Oct., A.C. 996), in the interval between the two after-noon prayers. Such is the account given by al-Musabbiḥī. According to the author of the history of Qayrawān, the physician prescribed to al-'Azīz a portion, to be taken on entering into the bath, but it was wrongly made up and the prince died on drinking it. His death was not kept secret, even for single hour, and his son, al-Ḥākim, was immediately established in his place. On the morning of Wednesday when the inhabitants of Cairo heard of this event, they went forth from the city to meet the new sovereign. He made his entry with standards and banners waving before him, whilst the umbrella (*of state*) was borne over his head by Raydān al-Ṣaqlabī, the same who is mentioned in our article on Barjawān. Al-Ḥākim entered the Qaṣr a little before sunset, preceded by a litter in which was borne the body of his father and out of which the two feet of the corpse protruded. When the litter was taken into the Qaṣr, the body was washed by the *qāḍi* Ibn al-Nu'mān and then buried in a chamber of the Qaṣr, near the tomb of al-Mu'izz, the father of the deceased. The interment took place towards nightfall. On Thursday morning, the last of the month, perfect order reigned every where and proclamations were made throughout the country to the effect that no new charges or obligations should be imposed upon the people, that their lives and fortunes were under the protection of God and that whoever attempted to deprive them of either, might be lawfully slain and his property given up to pillage. The birth of al-'Azīz took place on Thursday, the 14th of Muḥarram, 344 (11th May, A.C. 995), at al-Mahdiyah in the province of Ifrīqiyah. Al-Farghānī (*No. 76, note.*) states, in his lesser historical work, that al-'Azīz bi-Allāh was born on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of Muḥarram of that year. Al-Mukhtār al-Musabbiḥī relates as follows: "In a conversation which I had with al-Ḥākim, we happened to speak of the death of al-'Azīz, on which he said to me: 'O Mukhtār! my father sent for me before he breathed his last, and I found him with nothing on his body but rags and bandages.' I kissed him, and he pressed me to his bossom, exclaiming: 'How I grieve for thee, beloved of my heart!,' and tears flowed from his eyes. He then said: 'Go, my master! and play, for I am very well.' I

obeyed and began to amuse myself with such sports as are usual with boys, and soon after, God took him to himself. Barjawān then hastened to me and, seeing me on the top of a sycamore tree, he exclaimed: 'Come down, my boy! may God protect you and us all!' When I descended, he placed on my head the turban adorned with jewels, kissed the ground before me and said: 'Hail to Commander of the faithful, with the mercy of God and His blessings!' He then led me out in that attire and shewed me to the people, who all kissed the ground before me and saluted me with the title of khalif! The history of al-'Azīz offers abundance of matter, but we aim at concision.

733 NAṢR AL-KHUBZĀRUZZĪ

Abu'l-Qāsim Naṣr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Māmūn, generally known by the surname of Khubzāruzzī (*the rice-bread baker*), was a native of Baṣrah. This distinguished poet had never received any education and could neither read nor write. He baked rice-bread in a shop situated at the Mirbad of Baṣrah, and he used to recite (*there*) verses of his own composition, all of them amatory. People crowded about him for the pleasure of hearing his poems and admiring the talent of one whose state was so humble. The poet Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far, surnamed Ibn Lankak al-Baṣrī[1], was then in the highest reputation, and yet he often visited Naṣr's shop for the purpose of hearing him, and took such an interest in him that he made a collection (*dīwān*) of his poetical works. Naṣr had already been to Baghdād and resided there a long time. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) speaks of him in his historical work and informs us that people went to read (*and study*) this *dīwān* under the author's tuition and several pieces of verse were learned from him and given as his by al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā al-Jarīrī (*No. 699*),

1 Al-Tha'ālibī, in his *Yatīmah*, gives some passages from Ibn Lankak's poems and praises the author highly for his talent. He informs us that Ibn Lankak was considered as the most accomplished literary scholar of Baṣrah.

Aḥmad Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥātim al-Nūshari and a number of others whose names he mentions. Al-Tha'ālibī (*No. 356*) speaks of him in the *Yatīmah* and cites a number of pieces composed by him, such as the following:

"My two friends! did you ever see or hear of any one more generous than a sovereign who went to visit his slave! (*Yet 'twas thus my beloved*) came, without having promised, and said to me: I esteem you too much to let your heart remain in suspense, awaiting the fulfilment of a promise. Then, between me and her, the star of union revolved in the sphere of happy omen and felicity; now, it presided over the kissing of the narcissus of the eye[1], and then, over the biting of the apple of the cheek."

By the same:

"Has not the love I bear you caused me sufficient paint without your beginning to sport (*with my feelings*) and to laugh? Your mockery is more galling to me than what I have already suffered! I should not care being sent to hell, were it not for the taunts (طنز)* of Mālik (*the angel who guards it*)."

By the same:

"Many were those who, though absent, kept their promises towards us: but there were some who, though present, disdained (*to fulfil their engagements*). They turned away and then turned towards (us); they shewed an inclination for us, and then repelled us; they first acted as friends and then as foes. But blame them not for transgressing (*against us*); did they not transgress, they would have no reason to ask pardon".

Here is another of his pieces:

"A friend begins by visiting another, either to drink wine (*with him*) or to bear the lute touched (عزف) by a female musician. Then he visits his friend, either to confide to him his sorrows or to complain of the rigours of fortune".

---

1 See Vol. I, Introduction.

* Abd al-Hamid gives : طر slapping, throwing, etc.—Ed.

In another piece he says :

"How much have I suffered from thy saying this and that; from thy wavering promises and long delays. A week passes over and a month, whilst I expect thee, morning and evening. If I miss obtaining kind treatment from you, I shall act with exemplary patience. Love increases by regular gradation, but thus also does it disappear. Take care! think not thyself safe from the visissitudes of fortune; she attacks the powerful and leaves them abased. Methinks I see the beauty of thy face receive from *(approaching)* wrinkles the order to depart[1], and that, in thy fickleness, thou exchangest light for darkness; a very bad exchange! *(People, then, on seeing thy figure, would never)* think it had once been as slender as a wand and(*that thy swelling forms had been like*) rounded sand-hills. When that happens, he whom thou hast not favoured will rejoice in thy misfortune, but he who obtained thy favours will still be for thee a friend."

By the same :

"I looked at the moon and the face of my beloved; and, to my sight, they seemed two moons. Such was my embarrassment that I could not distinguish the human moon from the moon of night. Were it not for the two cheeks which I kissed and the blackness of the hair which charmed me, I should have taken the moon for the beloved and the beloved for the moon. But one sometimes disappears and the other remains always *(with us)* and what disappears cannot be compared to what remains."

Aḥmad Ibn Manṣūr al-Nūs͟harī states that al-K͟hubzāruzzī recited to him the following lines, as being of his own composition :

"The beloved passed the night with me as a boon companion; ebriety had tinged her cheeks and, when the morning appeared, languor[2] began to tinge her eyes. My eyes then lent their sleep

---

1 For obvious reasons I give the signification of *wrinkles* to the word لحية. The expression *al-raḥīlah! al-raḥīlah!* means : get ready to start !

2 I read, with one of the MSS. الخمار. For the signification of this word see De Sacy's *Ḥarīrī*, p. 537, l, 20.

to hers and obtained, in return, the pleasure of gazing on her charms. Thanks be to fortune: how well it favours me (*in my plans*) against her!'

The Khaṭīb states, in his history of Baghdād, that Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Akfānī of Baṣrah made the following relation: "I went out, one holy day vacation, with my uncle Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Akfānī the poet, and we had with us Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Lankak, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufajja' and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sabbāk.* I, though a boy, accompanied them. They walked on till they came to the place where Naṣr al-Khubzāruzzī was and found him making bread for a set (*of people who were waiting*), We sat down in his (*shop*), wished him a happy holy day and asked him how he was getting on. He had just lighted some dry palm-leaves under the oven and had put on so much fuel that (*my companions*) were inconvenienced by the smoke. As we found the smoke to augment, we all rose up (*to depart*), on which Naṣr said to Ibn Lankak: 'When shall I see you again? Abu 'l-Ḥusayn!' The other replied: 'When my clothes are soiled.'" He had put on that day new clothes, as white and as clean as could possibly be, because he wished to appear well dressed during the festival. We then went to the street of the Banī Samurah and, when we reached the house of Aḥmad Ibn al-Muthannā, Ibn Lankak sat down there and said: 'My friends! the station we made at Naṣr's cannot fail offering him a subject on which he will have something to say; I wish to anticipate him; bring me an inkhorn.' He then wrote these lines:

"I have in my heart so great a love for Naṣr that I surpass therein all my companions. When we went to him, he fumigated us, in guise of incense, with dry leaves which tinged our clothes with smoke. I rose in haste, thinking he meant, by that, to drive us away; and he said: 'When shall I see you again? Abu 'l-Ḥusayn!' to which I answered: 'When my clothes are soiled.'

These lines he sent to Naṣr, who immediately dictated an answer to them. We read his reply, which was expressed in these terms:

---

* Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Simāk.—Ed.

"On Abu 'l-Ḥusayn I bestowed my sincerest love, and he mocked me with sweet words. When he came, his clothes were as (*white as*) the hair of old age, but (*with me,*) they became dark like the hair of a youth. I thought that, when he sat down with me, he was going to a wedding, and I therefore generously perfumed his garments, saying: 'When shall I see you again? Abu 'l-Husayn! He replied : 'when my clothes are soiled'. If the dislike of dirtiness[1] be meritorious, why did the Legatee receive the surname of *dustyface*[2] ?".

The Khālidites, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd (*No. 456*), relate, in the work called *al-Hadāyā wa 'l-Tuḥaf* (*offerings and gifts*), that al-Khubzāruzzī sent to Ibn Yazdād, the governor of Baṣrah, a signet-stone and, with it, the following note :

"Were many times the double of what I sent you laid at your feet, it would make as little appearance as the presents offered by Balqīs (*the queen of* Sabā) to Solomon. But I do it only to try you : if you are pleased with it, we shall know evidently that you are pleased with me."

Mentioning one thing brings on another : I found in the same work an amusing anecdote which I am induced to insert here. There was at Iṣbahān a man remarkable for his wealth, his munificence and the nobleness of his character. His name was Simāk Ibn al-Nu'mān. A female musician of that city, whose name was Umm 'Amr and who was distinguished for her talent and her merit, inspired him with a violent passion ; and his infatuation for her became so great that he bestowed on her a number of farms and sent her a mule loaded with the deeds by which he transferred to her these estates. This gave rise to much talk among the public and excited great astonishment. There was then in Isbahān a

---

1 The true reading is التقزز.

2 According to the Shi'ites, Muḥammad appointed 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib to be his successor ; whence they gave to the latter the surname of *al-Waṣī* (*the legatee*). *Abū Turāb* (*the father of dust, dusty face*) was the nickname by which Muḥammad designated 'Alī on account of his piety and frequent prostrations.

man of heavy apprehension and remarkable for dulness, who was in love with another female musician. When he heard of what had passed, he imagined, through his ignorance and his feeble intelligence, that Simāk had merely given to Umm 'Amr a quantity of (*parchment*) skins with nothing written on them and that presents of such a kind were always well received and had a great effect on the person to whom they were sent. He therefore purchased enough of skins to load two mules, so that his gift might be doubly as great as Simāk's, and sent them to her beloved, When she received them and learned what it meant, she was filled with anger against her admirer and wrote him a severe letter in which she declared that she would never speak to him again. In this missive she inserted the following lines which she had got a poet to compose for her:

"The person who revolts against you will never submit to you again. I declare that your wish to gain my affection shall always be vain. You have brought disgrace on the whole class of lovers by the vileness of your act. Tell me! who would be capable of sending skins to his mistress except you? I suppose that, in doing so, you meant to imitate Simāk. But he sent to Umm 'Amr farms with their title-deeds, and you sent me things which stunk as if you had made use of them to wipe your mouth. Why should I consent to have you near me? blockhead that you are! I have no wish to see you except I were to cut up those skins (*into straps and wear them out*) upon your shoulders."

I transcribe here another anecdote which I found in the same work: Al-Labbādī the poet set out from one of the towns of Ā<u>dh</u>arbā'ījān for another. He was mounted on an excellent colt belonging to himself. A great sterility had prevailed in the country during that year. On the road, he met with a young man, riding on an ass. Let us give the remainder of the story in al-Labbādī's own words: "I found that he had received a good education and could recite poems; he was, besides, light-hearted, prompt at repartee and skilled in argument. We travelled together the rest of the day and, in the evening, we arrived at a <u>kh</u>ān (*caravansarā'i*) situated on the road. I asked from the master of it if he could give us anything to eat, and he declared that he had nothing

remaining in his establishment. I talked with him for some time and cajoled him so well that he at length brought me two cakes of bread, one of which I reserved for myself, and the other I gave to my fellow-traveller. The uneasiness I felt for my colt, lest it should pass the night without feeding, was greater than what I felt for myself ; so I asked the master of the khān if he had any barley. He replied that he had not a single grain. I told him to go and look for some and that I should pay him for his trouble. He went out and, after remaining a long time absent, he returned and informed me that he had discovered two *makkūk's (quarts)* of it, but that the owner had sworn, under the penalty of divorcing his wife, that he would not let them go for less than a hundred dirhams (*fifty shillings*). On this I said : "Since there is an oath made to divorce, discussion is useless ; here are fifty dirhams ; go and bring me one *makkūk*." He did so, and I gave to my colt, after which, I resumed my conversation with the young man, whose ass was standing (*in the court*) with nothing to eat. My companion remained some time with downcast eyes and then said : "Listen, may God favour you ! to some verses which have just come to my mind." "Let us have them," said I, and he recited as follows :

"My verses, Sir ! are much inferior to yours, for my poetic talent does not come up even to your skill in prose. In what I have recited, I merely displayed before you what was, in reality, a single drop compared to your ocean. You conversed with me familiarly, raised my spirits and treated me kindly ; you paid attention to my state before thinking of your own. I now wish to ask a favour which, if you grant it, will render me your encomiast and your grateful servant for ever : I have partaken of your hospitality ; let my ass share in that of your colt."

I loughed and excused myself for having neglected the animal ; so, I purchased for it the other *makkūk*, at the price of fifty dirhams." But, after all, we have digressed from our subject. The anecdotes and stories related of Naṣr are very numerous. He died, A.H. 317(A.C. 929-30), but this date is suspicious, for the Khaṭīb states, in his History, that Aḥmad Ibn Manṣūr al-Nūshari, the same of whom we have already spoken, learned from him

(*some pieces of verse*) in the year 325. The word *āruzzī*, forming the latter part of the surname *Khubzaruzzī*, varies in its pronunciation, because it comes from a root which has six different forms, namely : *uruzz (rice) aruzz, urz, uruz, ruzz* and *runz*. Naṣr received the surname because he practised the trade of a rice-bread baker, as we have already stated towards the commencement of this notice. *Lankak* is a Persian word and the diminutive of the adjective *lank* (*lame*). The Persians form their diminutives by adding the letter *k* to the end of the word. *Mirbad* is the name of a well-known public place in Baṣrah. The word itself signified any place where camels and other animals are shut up, but it became a proper name, applied to the place in Baṣrah.

734 NAṢR AL-NUMAYRĪ

Abu 'l-Murhaf Naṣr, a celebrated blind poet, was the son of Manṣūr Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Jawshan* Ibn Manṣūr† Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn Ithāl Ibn Wazar ‡ Ibn 'Aṭṭāf Ibn Bishr Ibn Jandal Ibn 'Ubayd al-Rā'ī Ibn Ḥuṣayn Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Jandal Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Numayr Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawāzin Ibn Manṣūr Ibn 'Ikrimah Ibn Khaṣafah Ibn Qays 'Aylān Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān. When a boy, he went (*from al-Raqqah*) to Baghdād and there he continued to reside up to the day of his death. He learned the *Qur'ān* by heart, studied the system of jurisprudence drawn up by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*) and heard traditions delivered by the *qāḍī* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī, Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn al-Mubārak al-Anmāṭī[1], Abu 'l-Faḍl

1 The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anmāṭī was a native of Baghdād. He died in the month of Muḥarram 538 (July-August, A.C. 1143).

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives Jawsh.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd omits this name.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Ward.—Ed.

Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir[1] and other masters. His literary studies were made under Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī (*No. 724*). He (*composed and*) recited poems in which he eulogized the khalifs, the wazirs and the grandees ; he taught traditions and led a life of devotion and self-mortification. His poetry, of which there exists a collection, has all a good tendency. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*) cites some of his verses in the *Kharīdah* and assigns to him the genealogy which we have given above. "It was from his lips," said he, "that I learned it". The 'Ubayd al-Rā'ī[2] who is mentioned in that list was the celebrated poet whose *dīwān* we possess and who waged such a war of satires against Jarīr (*No. 127*). Abū Murhaf (*Naṣr*) lost his sight from the small-pox, at the age of fourteen years. 'Imād al-Dīn cites the following extract from one of his poems :

"Think you that, after our union, now dissolved, we shall ever meet again, and that I shall no longer have to apprehend the fearful vicissitudes of Fortune? (*Think you*) that after our mutual estrangement, (*the aspect of*) our camping-spots and pasture grounds in Najd will again assuage (*my grief*)? I well remember the time, now past and gone, when we were all closely united at Ayman al-Ālamīn! I have been unable to suppress the flow of my tears ; tears obey not the (*lover's*) will when he suffers from passionate desire. My heart impels me towards (*the beloved*) Khansā, but, between us, a vast extent (*of desert*) intervenes. Of things which I dread, that which my heart fears the most is the sight of the lightning when it flashes over the land of Najd[3]. Long separation from my friends has loaded me with a burden which I am unable to support."

His poetry is remarkable for delicacy of thought and elegance of style. When at Baghdād he remained exclusively attached to 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayrah, a wazīr whose life we shall

1 The *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Salamī, an inhabitant of Baghdād and one of the greatest traditionists of 'Irāq, died in the month of Sha'bān, 550 (Oct., A.C. 1155).

2 For this poet see de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, pp. 134, 452.

3 This perhaps means ; because it draws my attention towards that country and awakens painful recollections.

give, and composed poems in his praise. He was born at al-Raqqah, on Tuesday evening, the 13th of the latter Jumādā, 501 (29th Jan., A.C. 1108); he died at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 28th of the latter Rabī', 588 (13th May, A.C. 1192) and was interred (*outside*) the gate called Bāb Ḥarb. *Numayrī* is a patronymic referring to the Numayr Ibn 'Āmir whose name is mentioned towards the beginning of this article. The other names are sufficiently known (*to dispense us from indicating their orthography*).

735 IBN QALĀQIS

Abu 'l-Futūḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Makhlūf Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī Ibn Qalāqis al-Lakhmi al-Azharī al-Iskandarānī (*an Arab of the tribe of Lakhm, a descendant of al-Azhar and a native of Alexandria*), bore the title of al-Qāḍī 'l-A'azz (*the worshipful qāḍī*) and was noted as a poet. In that art, he displayed great ability, talent and genius. He hae so little beard that his face was quite bare and, for that reason, verses were composed against him, which I abstain from mentioning on account of their indelicacy. He was a constant companion of the *shaykh* Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (*No. 43*) and profited greatly by his intercourse with that eminent *ḥāfiẓ*. The collection of his poetical works contains some pieces in which he makes brilliant eulogiums of his friend, Abū Ṭahir who, on his side, spoke of him frequently in the highest terms and emulated with him in the career of mutual praise. Ibn Qalāqis went to pay his court to al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm (*No. 349*), taking with him a *qaṣīdah* in which the name of that wazīr was introduced so as to form the rhyme of one of the verses. The piece is of the highest beauty and begins thus[1] :

1 These verses are so intricate in their construction, so full of verbal quibbles and obscure allusions, that it is hardly possible to make them perfectly intelligible in another language.

"What harm would it do that gazelle (*nymph, maiden*) were she not to leave (*us*), and were (*she to hear*) one wounded (*lover*) condole with another? (*What harm*) to one whose society is a paradise, were she not to see him whom she rejected suffering from (*torments like those of*) hell? As long as I courted her, (*that slender waist, like to*) a pliant branch in a garden enfeebled my body (*by the passion it inspired me*), so that I became (*a mere breath, like*) the zephyr (*of that garden*). She, with the beauty-spot (*raqīm*) on her cheek, slumbers, neglectful of (*her*) sleepless (*lover*); but sleep was always most suitable for those who had *Raqīm*[1]. Why should a gazelle (*maiden*) not remain (*ṣaram*) (*with us*)? Have I not heard (*grammarians say*), as (*an exemple of*) relation: 'The gazelle of the desert (*ṣarīm*)[2]. How offen did a censor continue (*her reproaches*) as long as night endured; a being (*bahīmah*) with whom I passed in conviviality many a gloomy *(bahīm)* night! I allowed her to anger me uncontrolled, for a man should be mild when angered by his fellow-creature. I said to her, when she passed all bounds and whilst my heart was in grievous torture; 'Excuse a heart which, through an effect of love, wanders, like a poet, in every valley[3]. How often (*did I long for*) that wine of which her mouth was the cup and of which the smell could not suffice me but the taste! I tried to absorb it from her lips and said: 'This is really the liquor of Paradise[4]' She opened her mouth, in smiling, and disclosed (*teeth like*) the white flowers of the hill, or like pearls ranged on a necklace; or (*as if*) she had received with approbation the (*poem now*) received by al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥim."

Ibn Qalāqis frequently removed from one country to another and, alluding to his fondness for travelling, he used to say:

---

1 According to some commentators, the *Raqīm* of the *Qur'ān* is the name given to the dog of the Seven Sleepers. See *Qur'ān*, sūrah 18, verse 8.

2 It is very possible that the translator has missed the meaning of this verse.

3 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 26, verse 225.

4 Literally: Zamzam and al-Ḥaṭīm; that is, the sacred well and the enclosure of the Temple, at Makkah.

"Men are numerous (اكثر لكن), but I am destined to keep company with sailors only and with camel-drivers."

Towards the close of his life, he went to the city of Aden, in Yaman and sung the praises of Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir, the son of Abu 'l-Nadā Bilāl Ibn Jarir al-Muḥammadi and wazīr to Muḥammad and Abu 'l-Sa'ūd, the sons of 'Imrān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Dā'ī* Sabā Ibn Abi 'l-Sa'ūd Ibn Zuray' Ibn al-'Abbās al-Yāmī†, sovereigns of that county[1]. He was generously treated by Yāsir and, having obtained from him gifts sufficiently ample to make him a rich man, he took ship and departed. The vessel was wrecked on the island of al-Nāmūs, near Dahlak, and every thing he had with him went to the bottom. This occurred on Friday, the 5th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 563 (11th August, A.C. 1168). He returned to his patron in a state of nudity and recited to him the poem which begins thus:

"When we departed, generosity called us back, and we returned to thy residence; returning *(from evil ways)* is highly meritorious."

This is an excellent *qaṣīdah,* as that single verse is sufficient to prove. He then recited to him another poem in which he spoke of his shipwreck; it begins by these lines:

"Travel, if you wish to acquire real worth, it is by travelling that the crescent becomes a full-moon. Water, whilst it runs, acquires good qualities; when it settles, it becomes corrupt. It is by removing *(from their place)* that precious pearls pass from the sea to the necks (*of the fair*). You who relate the history of Yāsir, without knowing by experience his real merit! read, if you know how, in the nobleness of his visage, the (*open*) volume of expectations (*fulfilled*). Kiss the fingers of his right hand and say: 'Hail to thee who art an ocean (*of generosity*)!' But I mistake, God pardon me! in comparing him to the ocean; he enriched me and it reduced me to indigence. I have found that the one always flows, and that the other (*flows and*) ebbs."

1 That is or Aden and its territory.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Rā'ī.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Nāmī.—Ed.

It is a long *qaṣīdah* and displays all the excellence of the author's talent. The idea in the second verse is borrowed from an expression employed by Badī' al-Zamān, the author of the *Maqāmāt*, who inserted it in the beginning of an epistle of which we have spoken in his life (*No. 51*) and in which he says: "When water has long remained at rest, its noxious qualities appear." The idea of the third verse is borrowed from a piece composed by Ṣurr Durr (*No. 449*), in which the author says:

"Let your stirrups rattle across the deserts, and leave to maidens the shelter of their curtains. Those who always remain at home are like the inhabitants of the tomb. Did not pearls quit their dwelling-place, they had never mounted from the sea to the necks (*of the fair*)."

The following verses, composed by him on a black slave-girl, offer a very original idea:

"I know a negress who is really (*worth*) a white; near her, the (*white*) camphor is jealous of the (*black*) musk. She is like the pupil of the eye: people think it black, but it is all (*pure*) light."

The good (*pieces composed by*) Ibn Qalāqis are very numerous. He was born in the frontier city of Alexandria, on Wednesday, the 4th of the latter Rabī, 532 (20th Dec., A.C. 1137), and died at 'Aydhab on the 3rd of Shawwāl, 567 (29th May, A.C. 1172). In the month of Sha'bān, 563 (May-June, A.C. 1168), he arrived in Sicily and, two years later, he visited Yaman. When in Sicily, he got acquainted with a chief (*qā'id*) named Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥajar[1] by whom he was generously treated and for whom he composed a very good work entitled: *Al-Zahr al-Bāsim fī awṣāf Abī 'l-Qāsim* (*the smiling flower, treating of the qualities of Abu 'l-Qāsim*). When he left Sicily, with the intention of returning to Egypt, the winter season had set in and the winds drove his ship back to that island. He then wrote to Abu 'l-Qāsim a letter in which he said:

"The winter weather hindered me from arriving at my native place with the ambassador. The winds, which drove me back,

1 This shows that, in Sicily, under William II, the third Norman king, some Muslim chiefs still held a high position.

came just as I should have wished, although I did not desire them. The ass sometimes stumbles, but that is often through the will of him who hired it out."

There was then in Sicily an ambassador sent there by the sovereign of Egypt. When he took ship to return, Ibn Qalāqis accompanied him, and they were driven back by a storm to the place they sailed from. Ibn Qalāqis then composed the verses here mentioned. The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions, in the *Kharīdah*, under the article entitled Ibn Qalāqis, the treatise of which we have spoken above, and gives there some good extracts from that poet's works. *Qalāqis* is the plural of *qulqās* (*colocasia*), a word of which the meaning is well known. '*Aydhāb* is a small town situated on the (*western*) shore of the sea of Jiddah (*the Red sea*). The vessels of Egypt sail from thence for Ḥijāz (*with the travellers who arrive at* '*Aydhāb*) by the road of Qūs. The passage across the sea generally takes a (*day and a*) night. From Jiddah (*or Juddah*) to Makkah there is one day's journey. At Jiddah is still to be seen the tomb of Eve, our first mother, which is an object of pilgrimage. Yāsir was put to death by Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh (*No. 432*) when that prince invaded Yaman[1].

736 ḌIYĀ AL-DĪN IBN AL-ATHĪR

Abu 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Karam Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī and the title of Ḍiyā al-Dīn (*the light of religion*), was born at Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar[2] and passed there his early youth. In the month of Rajab, 579 (Oct.-Nov., A. C. 1183) he accompanied his father to

1 In the year 569 (A.C. 1173-4), when Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh took the city of Aden, the wazīr Yāsir was the governor of the place. The historians who speak of this event make no mention of the two princes in whose name he governed,

2 See No. 432, 526.

Moṣul and there he made his studies. Having then mastered the sciences (*connected with law and religion*), learned by heart the *Qur'ān*, picked up a great quantity of traditions concerning the Prophet and acquired a fair knowledge of grammar, philology and rhetoric ; he learned also such a number of poems that he said, towards the beginning of his work entitled *Al-Washi 'l-Marqūm* (*the flowered silken tissue*) : "I learned by heart an immense quantity of ancient and modern poetry, but, afterwards, I limited my studies to the poems of the two members of the tribe of Ṭay, Ḥabīb Ibn Aws," he means Abū Tammām (*No. 143*),—"and Abū 'Ubādah al-Buḥturī,[1] as also to those composed by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*). I commited to memory all the poetical works of these three authors and often studied them through during a number of years, till I obtained the faculty of expressing correctly my ideas and succeeded in acquiring such habits of application as became for me a (*second*) nature." My sole motive in giving this passage is to shew how essential it is for a scribe who is engaged to draw up epistles (*official dispatches*) that he should closely apply to the decomposing of poetry (*into prose*) and make that practice the main basis of his art. Ḍiyā al-Dīn, having thus obtained possession of all the qualifications (*requisite for a secretary of state*), proceeded to the court of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Saladin*), in the month of the first Rabī', 587 (April, A.C. 1191) and, in the month of the latter Jumādā of the same year (June-July,) he was attached to the service of that sulṭān by al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil (*No. 349*). He continued with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn till the month of Shawwāl of that year (Oct.-Nov.), when al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī (*No. 461*), the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, asked permission from his father to take him (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn* into his service. The sulṭān gave the latter his choice of remaining where he was or of passing into the service of the prince, and told him at the same time, that the pension (*ma'lūm*) already granted to him should be (*in each case regularly*) continued. Ḍiyā al-Dīn decided on going with al-Afḍal, who was then a young man, and was appointed by that prince to the post of wazīr. Under such a patron, his circumstances became greatly improved. Al-Malik al-Afḍal,

1 His life will be found in this work.

having obtained for himself the kingdom of Damscus, on the death of his father, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, chose Ḍiyā al-Dīn for his grand-wazīr. All puplic affairs were then referred to the latter's direction and, in every circumstance, the highest confidence was placed in his ability. When Damascus was taken from al-Afḍal, that prince removed to Ṣarkhad, as we have already stated in his life, and as Ḍiyā al-Dīn had been on bad terms with the inhabitants of the former place, they now resolved on putting him to death; but the chamberlain, Maḥāsin Ibn 'Ajam, got him out of danger by locking him up in a trunk and carrying him secretly out of the city. Ḍiyā al-Dīn then went to join his master and afterwards accompanied him to Egypt, whither that prince had been called in order to act as the *nā'ib* (*lieutenant*) of his nephew, al-Malik al-Manṣūr. We have spoken of these events in our article on al-Afḍal, and that dispenses us from repeating our account of them here. Al-Malik al-'Ādil having proceeded to Egypt *No. 461*), took that country from his nephew al-Afḍal, who received in exchange the government of al-Sharqiyah (*'Irāq and Mesopotamia*) and set out for that province. Ḍiyā al-Dīn did not follow in the train of attendants, because he was afraid of being assassinated by a band of fellows who were waiting for him. He afterwards succeeded in leaving the city under a disguise, and he has given an account of his evasion in a long letter the text of which may be found in the work (*dīwān*) which contains his epistolary correspondance. He stayed away for some time from his master al-Malik al-'Āfḍāl and did not return to his service till that prince had established his authority in Sumaysāṭ. He then remained with him till the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah 607 (April-May, A. C. 1211), when he passed into the service of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (*No. 497*), sovereign of Aleppo and al-Afḍal's brother. Soon after, he left his new master, in a moment of anger, and returned to Moṣul, but, being unable to make his way there, he proceeded to Arbela, where he was equally unsuccessful. From that he went to Sinjār and then, again, to Moṣul. Having decided on fixing his residence there, he got employed by the governor of that city as a writer of dispatches. This prince, whose name was Naṣr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and who was the son of al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of Nūr al-Dīn

Arsilān Shāh (*No. 79*), had then for *atābek* (*guardian*) the amīr Abu 'l-Faḍā'il al-Nūrī. This took place in the year 618 (A. C. 1221). I went more than ten times from Arbela to Moṣul, where Ḍiyā al-Dīn was residing, and tried to get introduced to him ; because I knew that he had been the intimate friend of my father and I wished to study something under his tuition. I did not, however, succeed in my project. I subsequently left al-Sharqiyah and went to Syria, where I resided about ten years, and then proceeded to Egypt. Ḍiyā al-Dīn was still living at that time. I afterwards received at Cairo the news of his death. He composed a number of works which prove the eminence of his talent. That which bears the title of *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir fī adab al-Kātib wa'l Shā'ir* (*the Current Proverb, treating of the literary information requisite for prose-writers and poets*) forms two volumes and attests the great abilities of the author. In it, he enters into full details and omits which a writer of epistles should know. When he finished it, he read it in public, and allowed it to be written down under his dictation. A copy of it having reached Baghdād, the jurisconsult 'Izz al-Dīn, who was also a man of letters, undertook to criticise it, to refute the author and to point out his errors. The names of this doctor were Abū Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd al-Madā'inī. He collected his strictures into a volume to which he gave the title of *Al-Falak al-Dā'ir 'ala 'l-Mathal al-Sā'ir (the Revolving Sphere, directed against the Current Proverb)*. When the work was finished, he sent it to his brother, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abu 'l Ma'ālī Aḥmad, called also al-Qāsim, and received from him a written answer containing these lines :

"Sir ! you have made on the Current Proverb (*a book called*) the Revolving sphere. It is really a revolving sphere which will render your name as well known as a current proverb."

Izz al-Dīn (*the author of that refutation*) was born at al-Madā'in on Saturday, the 1st of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 586 (30th December, A. C. 1190) and died at Baghdād in the year 655 (A. C. 1257). His brother, Muwaffaq al-Dīn, died at Baghdād in 656 (A. C. 1258), very soon after the taking of that city by the Tartars. Both of

them were jurisconsults, men of letters and of talent. They left some good poetry. Muwaffaq al-Dīn was born in the latter Jumādā (May-June,) or, according to another statement, in the first Rabī' (Feb.-March), A. H. 590 (A. C. 1194), at al-Mada'in. (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn, the subject of this notice*), is the author of the book entitled *Al-Washi 'l-Marqūm fī ḥall al-Manẓūm* (*the flowered silken tissue, treating of* (the advantage resulting from) *the decomposing of poetry* (into prose). This treatise, though concise, is very fine and instructive. He composed also the *Kitāb al-Ma'āni 'l-Mukhtara'ah* (*the book of original ideas*), in which he treats of the art of prose composition. This is also an excellent work. Another production of his is a selection of poems from the works of Abū Tammām, Abū 'Ubādah al-Buḥturī, Dīk al-Jinn (*No. 359*) and Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī. It forms one large volume and may be learned by heart with great advantage (*to the student*). Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī (*No. 528*) says, in his (*biographical*) History of Arbela : "I found the following verses inscribed, in the hand-writing of Ḍiyā al Dīn, at the end of the book which contains his selection (*of poetry*).

"Employ this treasure really precious ; for it is a selection made by a man of prudence and of judgment, to whom all elegancies of style were obedient and who took, at an early age, the right road to poetry."

He left also a *dīwān* of epistles, filling a number of volumes, and out of which a choice of letters has been made, forming one volume. An epistle, which he addressed to his sovereign, after having made a journey in the rainy season and during an intense cold, announces to him that the writer had left his service and contains the following passage ; "The rain-cloud pitched its tent over the (*land*) and let its skirts fall down upon it ; making every halting-place detestable and changing every hill into a pond. It trenched the soil with furrows, and converted every (*valley-*) side into the bank of a river. Methought it wished to rival in copiousness with the bountiful hand of our sovereign and to excel it in the persistance of the torrents which it poured forth. But your humble servant prays God to pardon him for making a

comparaison so totally devoid of appropriateness ; he well knows the difference between that (*cloud*) which fills the valleys with its waters and that (*hand*) which over whelms the assembly with its benficence. The plant producing flowers which the (*ardent heats of*) summer may cause to disappear, or fruit which is consumed by autumn, must not be compared to a prince (*whose hand*) produces riches sufficient to second (تغوث) his generous intentions and enables the flocks to graze during spring and summer in a fertile pasture-ground. Then (*your servant*) pursued his journey, suffering from the land and its mud, from the sky and its rain. It (*the sky*) was (*like thy hand*) liberal to excess ; it continued its donations unremittingly till it fatigued (*those who received them*) ; it was so prodigal that its bounty became irksome ; and your humble servant now dreads the glittering of swords much less than the flashes of the lightning. During the fall of these showers, he continued battling (*against them*), and suffered affliction from the intensity of their chillness. Receive my salutation ! " When my friend Ḥusām al-Dīn Īsā* 'l-Ḥājirī (*No. 493*) heard the passage in which the writer speaks of suffering affliction from the intensity of cold, he greatly admired the thought and expressed it again in the following terms :

"How painfully cool the water of her lips ! I shall complain of its poignancy (*even*) to those who blame me (*for loving her*)."

The person who casts his eyes on this verse may probably desire to know rest of the poem, and, as the piece is short, I think there will be no harm in giving it. Here it is :

"Between the sands of al-Jaz'a and the river of al-'Aqīq dwells a person whose (*charms*) her lover can never forget. He gathered the plunder of the bee (*honey*) off the lips of (*that maiden*) whose motions are so graceful and whose teeth so bright. If her forehead were not a paradise, it would not have produced those charming curls[1]. How painfully cool the water of her lips'. I shall complain of its poignancy (*even*) to those who censure me. Strange that in (*our mutual*) love, she who is my friend should act

1 The translator has purposely avoided giving the literal meaning of this verse. In all the piece he has substitued the feminine pronoun for the masculine.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd adds: Ibn Sanjār Ibn Bahrām known as al-Ḥājirī.—Ed.

towards me like an enemy! Let my life be the ransom of that gazelle whose slender waist works the same effect as the pliant lance.[1]"

In our article on al-Nafīs al-Quṭrusī (*No. 65*) we have inserted a piece rhyming in *k* and containing a verse which offers a similar thought. It is this:

"O mouth of the beloved! thou didst consume my heart when I tasted of thy coolness."

But the idea itself originated with Ibn al-Ta'āwidhī (*No. 654*), who said, in the well-known *qasīdah* which rhymes in *n*.

"A (*liquor*) cool and chill from her lips, lights up the ardour (*of love*), and her languishing eyes kindle desire."

One of Ḍiyā al-Dīn's dispatches, written in the name of his sovereign to the *Grand Dīwān (al-Dīwān al 'Azīz, the court of the khalif of Baghdād)*, contains the following passage: "His (*the khalif's*) dynasty smiles sweetly, though it derives its name from *al-'Abbās* (*the frowner*). 'It is the best dynasty which was ever produced unto (*the eye of*) time, and thus also its subjects are the best people ever produced unto mortals. For its livery was chosen the colour of youth[2], which augured that the dynasty would never fall into decreptitude and that it would always continue to enjoy the purest gifts of Fortune, the never-fading love (*of the people*) and their unceasing affection. The thought here expressed for the first time has for its author the humble servant of the dynasty, one always devoted to its colours; never, till now, was it traced on paper by a pen, and never yet did it revolve with other original ideas in the human mind." I must, however, declare that Ḍiyā al-Dīn was wrong in attributing to himself the discovery of this idea, for Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī had already expressed it in a poem rhyming in *s* and containing the praises of the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad. He recited it to that prince on the lst of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 575 (29th March, A. C. 1180),

1 The effect which the poet means is *wounding the heart*.

2 *Black* is the colour of youth, because, at that age, the hair is dark.

the day of his instalment on the throne of the khalīfate. It begins thus :

'(*The wine*) was carried round the company by a cup-bearer *graceful and slender*) as the pliant branch of the Arāk tree."

That part of it where the poet brings on the transition offers the passage to which we allude and which we give here :

"Alas ! the day has brightened up my night (i.e. *hoariness has rendered white my black hair*) ; never again shall I enjoy the gloomy night of youth ! A time came which changed the tint of my hair and interposed between me and joyful sports. The young girls, on seeing my white hair, turn away and say : 'Black is best of raiments ; why should it not have the preference, since it is the livery of the sons of al-'Abbās ?' "

Ḍiyā al-Dīn certainly added to the idea, but it was Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī who opened the gate and cleared the way ; so the other had no difficulty in following the road. A letter in which Ḍiyā al-Dīn announces the defeat of the infidels (*the crusaders*?) contains the followsng description of those who were stripped (*by the victors*) : "They were stripped and, in exchange for their garments, they obtained a raiment of blood. They appeared in the form of naked men, yet their attire was that of people who are dressed. How quickly was sewn for them scarlet clothing ; and yet it made no folds upon them and had no need of buttons ![1]. They received not this dress till Islāmism had put on the livery of victory always to endure. (*Their dress*) was woven by the cutting blades of lances, not by the skill of the artisan ; and those who were to wear it had only to wait till the swords entered into the heads and the necks, and till the spear, straight as the letter *alif*, encountered the coats of mail[2]." The idea expressed in the beginning of the passage just mentioned is borrowed from this verse of al-Buḥturī :

---

1 The true reading is ولم يزرر.

2 Literally : till the stroke of the spear joined the letter *alif* to the *lām*. The group *lām-alif* (*s*) is well known to Arabic student. But here the *alif* means a spear as straight as an *alif*, and the word *lām* means : coats of mail.

"They were stripped but the blood, shining on their bodies with a scarlet hue, made them appear as if they were clothed."

Ḍiyā al-Dīn has given a description of Egypt in a long epistle which contains a passage on the swelling of the Nile. The idea which he there enounces and the terms in which he expresses it are quite novel, having never occurred to any other person. Here is what he says: "Sweet in its waters, like the gatherings of the bee; red in its face, so I knew it had slain sterility." I have since discovered that this highly beautiful thought was borrowed from an Arab (*of the desert*) who composed a piece of verse which I here give:

"Pity a heart ever appalled by the lightnings of the cloud, as that cloud passes towards the mountain or over the valley. When its uncovered face appeared red through the murky night, (*I knew full well*) that it had murdered sleep."

Ḍiyā al-Dīn was quite right in taking this idea for himself; having employed it very skilfully in the passage before us. The same thought is found in a verse composed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*No. 316*) on a maiden who had sore eyes:

People said: Her eyes complain (*of what they suffer*), and I replied: That ailment comes from having slain so many (*lovers*); their redness is the blood of her victims, and blood on the edge of a weapon is an excellent witness (*against one who is accused*)."

The epistles of Ḍiyā al-Dīn abound, in beauties. He used to contend with al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil in this species of composition: when the latter drew up an epistle, he endited another on the same subject. They kept up a correspondence, one with the other, and had frequent conferences (*on literary matters*). He had no great talent for poetry, and, as a proof, I may cite the following verse:

"Three things give joy: a cup, a bowl and a goblet. When the wine-skin is pierced for them, it is pierced for (*the dispelling of*) care."

He often recited the following verses of 'Umārat al-Yamanī:

"This heart (*of mine*) was sufficiently enamoured to obey the call of those (*friends*) who were setting out for a distant land, and

not call (*on me to detain it*). It was certainly a false idea of mine to suppose that, after their departure, it would still remain within my ribs."

His productions abound in beauties, but we have spoken long enough on the subject. Ibn al-Mustawfī mentions him, with high commendation, in the History of Arbela. "He arrived at Arbela." says this author, "in the month of the first Rabī', 611 (July-August, A.C. 1214). He was born in al-Jazīrah (*upper Mesopotamia*) in the month of Sha'bān, 558 (July-August, A.C. 1163) and he died in one of the two months of Jumādā, 637 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 1239-40) at Baghdād, whither he had been sent on a mission by the sovereign of Moṣul. The funeral service was said over him the next morning, in the mosque of the citadel (*Jāmi' al-Qaṣr*) and he was buried near the mausoleum of Mūsā Ibn Ja'far (*No. 719*), which monument is situated in the Quraysh cemetery, on the west bank (*of the Tigris*)." Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Najjār (*No. 5, note*) states, in his History of Baghdād, that Ḍiyā al-Dīn's death took place on Monday, the 29th of the latter Rabī' (28th November), of the above mentioned year (1239); and this writer must have known the fact better than any other person, because he cultivated specially this branch of knowledge (*biography*) and because he (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn*) died among them (*the inhabitants of Baghdād*). We have already spoken of his two brothers Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak (*No. 526*), and 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (*No. 435*). All three were men of talent, merit and eminence, and each of them composed some instructive works. Ḍiyā al-Dīn had a son of great abilities, who wrote very well both in prose and in verse, and composed a number of works, such as compilations, etc. I met with one of these treatises; the author had drawn it up for al-Malik al-Ashraf (*No. 722*), the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyūb, and, in it, he displayed the highest talent. It contained a great quantity of pieces in prose and verse, composed by himself, and a number of his father's epistles. He was born at Moṣul in the month of Ramaḍān, 585 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1189), and he died there on Monday morning, the 8th of the first Jumādā, 622 (18th May, A.C. 1225). His name was Muḥammad and his title al-Sharaf (i.e. *Sharaf al-Dīn, nobleness of religion*).

737 AL-NAḌR IBN SHUMAYL

Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Naḍr, the son of Shumayl, the son of Kharashah, the son of Yazīd, the son of Kulthūm, the son of 'Abdah, the son of Zuhayr al-Sakb, the poet, the son of 'Urwah, the son of Ḥalīmah, the son of Ḥujr, the son of Khuzā'i, the son of Māzin, the son of Mālik. the son of 'Amr, the son of Tamīm, was surnamed al-Tamīmī al-Māzinī. This grammarian, who was a native of Baṣrah, possessed extensive information in various branches of knowledge. He was veracious and trustworthy (*as a traditionist*), a perfect master of Arabic jurisprudence and poetry, well acquainted with (*the accounts handed down concerning*) the battle-days of the (*ancient*) Arabs, and a relator of traditions (*respecting Muḥammad*). He was one of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's pupils (*No. 208*). Abū 'Ubaydah (*No. 704*) mentions him in the *Kitāb mathālib ahl al-Baṣrah* (*treatise on the ignoble acts of the people of Baṣrah*) and relates as follows: "Al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl, when at Baṣrah, fell into straitened circumstances and left the place, with the intention of going to Khurāsān. The people of Baṣrah, to the number of about three thousand persons, escorted him out of the city; and not a man of them but was either a traditionist, or a grammarian, or a philologer, or a prosodian, or a historian. When he reached the Mirbad (*No. 734*) he sat down and said: 'People of Baṣrah! it is painful for me to quit you and, by Allāh! if I could have found there every day a handful[1] of potherbs, I would not have left you'. Not one of the assembly offered to provide him with the pittance he required. Having arrived in Khurāsān, he settled at Marw and acquired great wealth." In our article on 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mālikī (*No. 375*) will be found a similar discourse, pronounced by that *qāḍī* on leaving Baghdād. Al-Naḍr heard traditions from (*the lips of*) Hishām Ibn 'Urwah[2], Ismā'īl Ibn Abī Khālid[3], Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl*

1 The Arabic word is *Kīljah*. It designates a weight of nearly four pounds.

2 The life of Hishām is given in this work.

3 Ismā'īl Ibn Abī Khālid Hurmz, one of the *Tābi'īs*, or disciples of Muḥammad's Companions, was a traditionist of the highest authority. He died A.H. 145 (A.C. 762-3).

* M. de Slane gives Ḥamīd.—Ed.

(*No. 80, note*), 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn[1], Hishām Ibn Ḥassān[2] and other Tābi'īs (*disciples of Muḥammad's Companions*). Traditions were given on his authority by Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn[3], 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī[4], and other Imāms who had an opportunity of meeting him. He visited Naysābūr more than once, resided there for some time and taught (*traditions*) to the inhabitants. Some curious stories and anecdotes are related of what passed between him and al-Māmūn, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, to whose social parties, at Marw, he was frequently admitted. Al-Ḥarīrī (*No. 510*) has inserted one of them in his *Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ*, where he says: "Some people employ the expression : (*such a thing is*) a plug (*sadād*) to keep out poverty, but they make a mistake, because the correct pronunciation is *sidād.* It is stated in the histories of (*celebrated*) grammarians, that al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl gained eighty thousand dirhams (*two thousand pounds sterling*) by teaching the right pronunciation of the word." He then gives the anecdote and commences by an *isnād*[5] which reaches up to Muḥammad Ibn Fāḍiḥ* al-Ahwāzī who related as follows: "Al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl said to me: I used to attend al-Māmūn's evening parties and, one evening, I went there in a patched cloak. He (*remarked this and*) said: 'What is the meaning of such slovenliness? how dare you appear before the Commander of the faithful in so shabby a dress? I answered: 'Commander of the faithful! I am a feeble old man, and the heat in Marw is very great; so I wear this dress to keep myself cool! 'Not so!' replied the khalif, you are really a sloven.' We then got up a conversation[6] in which he brought on the subject of women

---

1 The traditionist 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn al-Baṣrī al-Muzanī died A.H. 151 (A.C. 768).

2 Hishām Ibn Ḥassān al-Azdī al-Baṣrī; this traditionist died A.H. 146 (A.C. 763-4).

3 The life of Ibn Ma'īn will be found in this work.

4 In No. 103, mention has been made of this celebrated doctor. It is said that he was partisan of the doctrines professed by the Shi'ites.

5 See vol. I, Introductions.

6 The text may also signify: We then began to repeat traditions.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Nāṣiḥ.—Ed.

and said : Hushaym[1] informed me that Mujalid*[2] had mentioned to him that al-Sha'bi (*No. 296*) had told him that he heard Ibn 'Abbās (*No. 43, note*) relate as follows : The Apostle of God said : *When a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, that* is a stopper (sdād) *to keep out poverty.* In relating this tradition, the khalif gave to the word *sdād* the pronunciation of *sadād.* On this I said : 'Commander of the faithful !' Hushaym would have spoken truly, had he said : It was related to me by 'Awf Ibn Abī Jamīlah[3], on the authority of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib, that the Apostle of God had spoken thus : *When a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, she is a stopper* (sidād) *to keep out poverty.* Al-Māmūn was then reclining on a sofa, but, on hearing my words, he sat up and asked me why I said *sidād.* I replied : 'Because *sadād,* in this tradition, is a fault.' 'Do you mean to say,' said he, 'that I have made the fault ?' I answered : 'I do not ; but Hushaym made it, for he was a very incorrect speaker (*laḥāna*), and the Commander of the faithful followed what he said.' He then asked me what was the difference between the two words, and I answered : *Sadād* means *the good direction and the right road,* in speaking of religion, but *sidād* means *whatever suffices to support life,* and everything which serves as a *stoppage* to another. 'Do the 'Arabs (*of the desert*) know this distinction ?' said he. 'They do,' said I ; 'here, for instance, is a verse by al-'Arjī (*No. 115, note*)' :

"They allowed me to perish and what a man have they left to perish ! (*one who could have served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defence (*sidād*) of a breach."

"On this al-Māmūn exclaimed : 'God's curse on fellows who have no education !' He then remained with down-cast eyes, till

---

1 See No. 84, note.

2 Mujālid Ibn Sa'īd al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī learned traditions from some of the *Tābi'īs.* He taught them to other traditionist, but his authority is considered by all the doctors as feeble. He died A.H. 134 (A.C. 751-2). al-Nawawī's *Tahdhīb*).

3 'Awf Ibn Abī Jamīlah, surnamed al-A'rābī (*the Arab of the desert*), bore a fair reputation as a traditionist. He died A.H. 146 (A.C. 763-4), or 147.

* M. de Slane gives : Khālid, but gives correct name in the note.—Ed.

at length he said : 'What property (*māl*) do you possess ?' I replied : 'I have, at Marw, a little piece of land, and its feeble drainings (*produce*) I drink (*atasubbuhā*) and suck up'. 'Shall I add', said he, 'to what you have'. I answered : 'Of that I stand greatly in need.' He then took a piece of paper and wrote on it I knew not what. Where he had done, he said : 'When you make use of the verb *atraba* (*to cover with earth or with wealth*), how do you say ?' I replied : '*Otribhu* (*cover him with earth*)'. 'Then' said he, 'how do you designate the person so covered ?' I answered : 'He is *mutrab*.' 'And', continued he, 'if you made use of (*the verb derived from*) ṭīn (*clay*) how would you say in the imperative ?' To this I answered : *ṭinhu* (*lute or cement him*).' 'And', said he, 'the person thus cemented, how would you designate him ?' I should employ (*the participle*) *maṭīn*. On this, he said : 'Better and better ! page ! earth him and cement him.' He then recited the evening prayer at the head of the assembly and, when he had finished, he said to his attendant : 'Take (*this letter*) and conduct him to al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl (*No. 504*). When al-Faḍl read the paper, he said to me : "Tell me, Naḍr ! why has the Commander of the faithful ordered you fifty thousand dirhams ?' I informed him of what had passed and disguised nothing. 'Then', said he, 'you reproved the Commander of the faithful for making a fault of pronunciation. 'Not so', said I, 'the fault was made by Hushaym, who was noted for his incorrect pronunciation, and the Commander of the faithful repeated his saying exactly, so as is always practised with the sayings of legists and relators of historical facts.' Al-Faḍl then ordered me thirty thousand dirhams, so that I gained eighty thousand by teaching the right pronunciation of a single syllable." The verse given as an example in the preceding recital was composed by 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Amr and the grand-son of (*the khalif*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān. He was celebrated as a poet and had received the surname of al-'Arjī. Here is the piece to which it belongs :

"They have allowed to me to perish, and what a man have they left to perish ! (*one who could have served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defense of a breach ! (*one so*) firm in desperate conflicts when the lance of death was levelled at his throat ! I am dragged every day through assembled multitudes ; O God ! what

oppression and violence I undergo! (*Now I am*) as if I had never been the noblest pearl of their assemblies and as if I did not belong to the family of 'Amr. Perhaps the sovereign Lord, who hearkens to the prayers of his petitioners, may deliver me from bondage; then people shall know my gratitude; those who loved me I shall requite with honours, and those who hated me shall feel my indignation."

The reason of his composing these verses was, that when Muḥammad Ibn Hishām Ibn Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī, (*the khalif*) Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik's maternal uncle was governor of Makkah, he cast al-'Arjī into prison; (*meaning thus*) to avenge the honour of his mother al-Jīdā,* who belonged to the family of al-Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b and on whom the poet had composed some amatory verses. It was not through love that al-'Arjī had done so, but merely to bring her son to shame. He remained in prison nine years and died there, after having been beaten with whips by al-Makhzūmī's order and paraded ignominiously through the market-places. He composed these verses when in prison. But we have digressed from our subject, so, let us return to it, and complete our account of al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl. Another anecdote concerning him is related by al-Ḥarīrī, in the *Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ*, towards the beginning of the work; he says: "Some people, when speaking to a sick man, make use of the expression: *May God remove* (masaḥ, مسح) *your ailment*! It is related that al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl, being unwell, received visits of condolence from a number of people, and one of them, surnamed Abū Ṣālih, addressed him in the above-mentioned terms. Al-Naḍr replied: 'Do not say *masaḥ* with a *sīn* (س) but say *maṣṣah* with a *ṣād* (ص) which word signifies *to remove, to disperse*. Have you not heard this verse of al-A'shā (*No. 115, note.*):

'As often as the wine frothed in the (*cup*), the froth went off and disappeared (*maṣṣah*)?'

"The man answered: '*Sīn* may be sometimes employed instead of *ṣād*, as takes place in the words *sirāt* (*road*) and *saqar* (*hell*).' To this al-Naḍr replied: Then your name is *Abū Sāliḥ*[1].

1 صالح means holy and سالح one who discharges his excrements.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Jayda.—Ed.

Another anecdote of similar cast is related of a literary man who maintained, in the presence of the wazir Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt (*No. 462*) that it was allowable to substitute the *sīn* for the *ṣād* in every case. On this, the wazir said to him: 'In reading this verse (*Qur'ān*) Ṣūrah 13, verse 23): *The gardens of eternal abode, into which they shall enter, with those of their ancestors, wives and offspring who were virtuous* (*ṣalāh*); do you pronounce this word with a *ṣād or sīn*? The man blushed with confusion and uttered not a word". End of al-Ḥarīrī's remarks. I may here state that the ablest philologers allow the substitution of *ṣād* for *sīn* in every word wherein the *sīn* is followed, as an observation made by the translator, by one of these four letters *ṭa* (ط) *kha* (خ) *ghayn* (غ) and *qāf* (ق). You may therefore say *ṣirāṭ* for *siraṭ sakhkhara lakum* for *sakhkhara lakum*, *maṣghabah* for *maṣghabah*, *ṣayqal* for *sayqal*. Take these as examples of a general rule. In the philological works which I have consulted I never met with any observation to the contrary, except in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Jawharī (*No. 9, note*), under the root صلغ where the author says; "Quṭrub Muḥammad, Ibn al-Mustanīr (*No. 609*) mentions that the family of Bal-'Anbar (*Ibn al-'Anbar*), a branch of the tribe of Tamīm, change the *sīn into ṣād* when it is followed by any one of these four letters: ṭa (ط) qāf (ق) *ghayn* (غ) Kha (خ), no matter if one, or two, or three letters intervene. They say *ṣirāt* for *ṣirāṭ*, *baṣṭah* for *basṭah*, *ṣayqal* for *sayqal*, *ṣaraqt for saraqt*, *masghabah* for *maṣghabah*, *miṣdagha* for *misdagha*, *ṣakhkhara lakum* for *sakhkhara lakum*, and *ṣakhab* for *sakhab*." End of al-Jawharī's remarks on this subject.[1] Numerous anecdotes might be related of al-Naḍr, but concision is to be preferred. He left a great number of works one of which was on the subject of *species*? (*al-Ajnās*) and similar to the *Gharīb*,[2]; he entitled it *kitāb al-Ṣifāt* (*book of descriptions*). According to 'Alī Ibn al-

---

1 The examples given here are most of them taken from the *Qur'ān*, the correct reading of which is a matter of the highest importance with the Musulmāns. The *sīn* or *ṣād* is our *s*; the *ṣād*, or ṣod is an emphatic ṣ with a dull sound and gives to the following vowel a shade of that pronunciation which is special to the vowel *o*.

2 This is probably the philological work compiled by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī (No. 83) and entitled *Gharīb al-Musannaf*.

kūfil, the first volume treated of the human frame, beneficence, generosity and the qualities of women; the second volume treated of tents, dwellings, mountains and valleys; the third was wholly devoted to camels; the fourth to sheep, birds, the sun and moon, rivers, the various kinds of milk, truffles (*of the desert*), wells, cisterns, well-ropes, buckets and descriptions of wine; the fifth contained (*passages of poems respecting*) corn-fields, the vine, grapes, the names of potherbs and of trees, winds, clouds and rain. His other works were the *Kitāb al-Ṣilāḥ* (*on weapons*), the *Kitāb khilq al-Faras* (*on the frame of the horse*), the *Kitāb al-Anwā* (*on the lunar mansions*), the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* (*on rhetorical figures*?), the *Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (*on unusual words occurring in the Traditions*), the *Kitāb al-Masādir* (*on verbal nouns*?), the *Kitāb al-Mudkhil*, meant as an *introduction* to (*the study of*) al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's (*No. 208*) *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. Al-Naḍr died on the last day of Dhu-'l-Ḥijjah, 204 (16th June, A.C. 820);—some say, on the first day of that month, and some place his death in the year 203. He died at Marw, a town of Khurāsān, which was also his birth-place. He was brought up at Baṣrah and received, for that reason, the surname of al-Baṣrī. *Naḍr*, *Shumayl*, *Kharashamah*, *Kulthūm*, *'Abādah* and *al-Sakb*, are to be pronounced as here indicated. (*The poet Zuhayr*) received the surname of al-Sakb for having composed the following verse.

Through the tent glittered a lightning-flash wide-spreading (*uskūb*).

Ḥalīmah has for vowels an *a* and an *ī*. Ibn al-Jawzī says in his *Kitāb al-Alqāb* (*book of surnames*), in the article *Sakb*: "That person's real name was Zuhayr, the son of 'Urwah, the son of Julhumah." God knows best which of us is in the right! *Julhumah*, as here written, designated originally the side of the valley called *Julhumah* or *Jalhamah*,* and then became a proper name for men. *Ḥujr* takes a *u* for its vowel. *Khuzā'ī* (*as a proper name*) is similar to the ethnic adjective (*which signifies belonging to the tribe of Khuzā'ah*). The remainder of the names (*in the genealogy*) are so well known that it is needles to fix their orthography.

---

1 According to the author of the *Nujūm*, a person named 'Alī Ibn Ghannām al-Kūfī died in the year 228 (A.C.842-43).

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Jalhah.—Ed.

738 THE IMĀM ABŪ ḤANĪFAH.

The *imām* and jurisconsult, Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān, the son of Thābit, the son of Zūṭā, the son of Māh, was a native of Kūfah and a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Taym Allāh Ibn Tha'labah. He belonged to the same family as Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt (*No. 199*) and was a dealer in silk thread. His grandfather, Zūṭā was a native of Kābul, or, as some say, an inhabitant of Bābil; but, according to other accounts, he was a natrve of al-Anbār, or al-Nasā, or of Tirmidh. It was he who was enslaved (*by the Muslim conquerors*), and afterwards obtained his liberty. His son, Thābit, was born a Musulmān. Ismā'il, the son of Ḥammād and the grandson of Abū Ḥanifah, made the following statement: "I am Ismā'īl, the son of Ḥammād, the son of al-Nu'mān, the son of Thābit, the son of al-Nu'mān, the son of al-Marzubān who belonged to a noble family of Persia. God never laid upon us the yoke of slavery. My grandfather was born in the year 80 (A. C. 699-700). 'Alī (*the son-in-law of Muḥammad*), to whom Thābit went when a boy, invoked upon him and his posterity the benediction of God; and we hope that, on 'Alī's account, the Almighty will continue to grant us that favour! Al-Nu'mān, the son of al-Marzubān and the father of Thābit, was he who, on the day of the autumnal equinox (*Mihrijān*), presented the almond cake to 'Alī, who said: 'May our Mihrijān be every day like this[1].'" So it is related by the Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) in his History (*of Baghdād)*, but God only knows (*if the statement be true*). Abū Ḥanīfah was born so far back that he might have met with four of the Prophet's Companions,—namely: Anas Ibn Mālik (*No. 539, note*) 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi Awfā[2], who resided at Kūfah, Sahl Ibn Sa'd

---

1 This anecdote appears to have been preserved on account of the strange manner in which 'Alī pronounced the Persian Word *Mihrijān*. It is reproduced in the *Nazm al-Jumān*, a work written by Ibn Dukmāk and containing a long and most interesting notice on Abū Ḥanīfah, with a chronological account of the doctors who professed his system of Jurisprudence. See MS. of the Bib. Imp., ancient fonds, no. 741, fol. 22.

2 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Awfā 'Alqamah al-Aslamī, one of the Musulmāns who emigrated to Madīnah, at the time of the persecution, took a share in

(*Continued on page 42.*)

al-Sā'idī[1] at Madīnah, and Abu 'l-Ṭufayl 'Āmir Ibn Wāthilah[2], at Makkah, but he never saw them nor obtained from any of them Traditions respecting the Prophet. His disciples, however, say that he met with a number of the Companions and delivered traditional information on their authority ; but, for doctors learned in the science of Traditions, this statement does not appear well supported. The Khaṭīb says, in his History of Baghdād, that Abū Ḥanifah saw Anas Ibn Mālik, that he took lessons in Jurisprudence from Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān[3], and that he heard Traditions delivered by 'Aṭā Ibn Abī Rabāḥ (*No. 394*), Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī (*No. 477*), Muhārib Ibn Dithār[4], al-Haytham Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ṣarrāf, Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadir (*No. 352, note*) Nāfi' (*No. 729*) the *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, Hishām Ibn 'Urwah[5] and Sammāk Ibn Ḥarb[6]. He says also that Traditions were taught on his authority by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (*No. 300*), Wakī' Ibn al-Jarrāḥ (*No. 149, note*) the *qāḍī* Abū Yūsuf (*No. 797*), Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybāni (*No. 541*) and other doctors. He was a learned man and a practiser (*of good works*), remarkable for self-denial, piety, devotion and the fear of God ; humble in spirit and constant in his acts of submission to the Almighty. (*The khalif*) Al-Manṣūr had him brought from Kūfah to Baghdād

---

(*Continued from page* 41)
the war against the Bani 'l-Naḍīr and the Banī Qurayẓah. On the death of Muḥammad. he removed from that city to Kūfah, where he died, A.H. 86 (A.C. 705). Some Traditions have been handed down on his authority. (*Nujūm* ; al-Nawawi's *Tahdhīb al-Asmā*).

1 Sahl Ibn Sa'd al-Sa'īdī, a native of Madīnah, was about fifteen years of age when Muḥammad died. He himself died at Madīnah, A.H. 84 A.C. 703).

2 Abū Ṭufayl 'Āmir Ibn Wāthilah al-Laythī died A.H. 100 (A.C. 718-9). (*Nujūm*).

3 Abū Ismā'īl Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān Muslim, a slient of Abū Mūsā al-'Ash'arī and a native of Kūfah, possessed a good knowledge of Jurisprudence. He died A.H. 120 (A.C. 738). (*Ḥuffāẓ*).

4 Abu 'l-Mu'tarraf Muḥārib Ibn Dithār al-Sadūsī, *a Tabi'ī* and a native of Kūfah, died A.H. 121 (A.C 739).

5 The life of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah will be found in this work.

6 Sammāk Ibn Ḥarb al-Dhuhli (الذهلي) died A.H. 123 (A.C. 740-1). (*Nujūm*).

in order to appoint him as *qāḍī*, but Abū Ḥanīfah refused to act. Al-Manṣūr then swore that he should act ; the other swore that he would not ; the khalif repeated his oath, and so did Abū Ḥanīfah. Oh this, the chamberlain, al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus (*No. 223*) said (*to the latter*) : "Do you not perceive that the Commander of the faithful has made an oath !" Abū Ḥanīfah replied : "The Commander of the faithful has ampler means than I for expiating an oath not fulfilled[1]." As he persisted in refusing, the khalif sent him to prison. According to a popular relation, he (*the khalif?*)* passed a number of days as a counter of bricks in order to expiate his oath ; but this story does not repose on good authority. Here is al-Rabī's statement : "I saw al-Manṣūr enter into a discussion with Abū Ḥanīfah relatively to the affair of the qāḍīship ; and he (*Abū Ḥanīfah*) addressed him in these terms : 'keep the dread of the Lord before your eyes and choose no man for the service of those confided to your care except one who fears God. By Allāh ! I am not assured of (*your*) good will ; how then can I be assured against (*your*) anger ? If I happen to judge of this matter differently from you, you may perhaps threaten to have me drowned in the Euphrates, unless I accept the office of judge ; (*even in that case*) I should prefer being drowned. You have (*a mulittude of*) dependants who require to be respected on your account ; and, for such a task, I am not fitted.' The khalif answered and said : 'You lie ! you are fitted for it ! ' Abū Ḥanīfah replied : 'You have now decided in my favour and against yourself ; is it lawful for you to nominate a liar as a *qāḍī* over those whom God has confided to your care ?' " The Khaṭīb gives other accounts of this affair and says : "When al-Manṣūr had finished the building of his city (*Baghdād*), he took up his residence there, and (*his son*) al-Mahdī fixed his abode (*in the quarter*) on the east side (*of the river*). (*Al-Mahdī*) having built the mosque at al-Ruṣāfah sent for Abū Ḥanīfah and asked him to act as a *qāḍī* in that place. The other refused, and al-Mahdī said to him : 'If you do not accept, I shall have you flogged till you consent.' Abū Ḥanīfah accepted and set in judgment for two days, but no one went to him. On

1 See No. 24, note.

* 'He' stands for Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, and not for the Khalīfah.—Ed.

the third day, a coppersmith appeared before him with another man and said : 'This man owes me two dirhams and four dāniqs (*one shilling and a penny*) for a brass drinking-cup (*and he will not pay me*).' Abū Ḥanīfah said to the other : 'Fear God and reflect on what the coppersmith has said.' (*The defendant*) replied : 'He has no claim upon me'. The plaintiff being asked what he had to say, answered : 'Let the man swear to the truth of his declaration.' Abū Ḥanīfah then bade the defendaut repeat these words : *By God! by Him Who is the only God!* When he saw the man on the point of pronouncing them and taking the oath, he interrupted him, passed his hand into his sleeve, opened his purse and, taking out two dirhams of full weight, he said to the coppersmith. 'Take these two pieces as the price of your cup. The man examined the money and consented to accept it. Two days later, Abū Ḥanīfah was taken ill and, six days after, he died." Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī[1], when amīr over the two Irāqs, wished to appoint Abū Ḥanīfah to the place of *qāḍī* at Kūfah, whilst Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad sovereigns, was still reigning and, on his refusal, he inflicted on him one hundred and ten strokes of a whip ; ten every day. Finding, however, that Abū Ḥanīfah persisted in his resolution, he set him at liberty. When Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal spoke of this occurence, he would shed tears and invoke God's mercy on Abū Ḥanīfah. This took place subsequently to the beating which he (*Ibn Ḥanbal*) had received for refusing to declare that the *Qur'ān* was created. Ismā'īl Ibn Ḥammād (*No. 195*), the grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, related as follows : "I passed (*one day*) through the Kunāsah with my father and, seeing him begin to shed tears, I said to him : 'My dear father ! what makes you weep ?' He replied : 'My dear son ! in this place Ibn Hubayrah inflicted on my father ten strokes of a whip every day, for ten days, in order to force him to accept the office of *qāḍi* ; but he would not.' " The Kunāsah is an open place at Kūfah. Abū Ḥanīfah was a handsome man, an agreeable companion, strictly honourable and full of kindness for his brethren. He was of a middle size, or, by another account, rather tall, and his complexion inclined to tawny. No man spoke more elegantly

1 The life of Ibn Hubayrah will be found in this work.

then he, nor with a sweeter tone of voice. The Khaṭīb states, in his History of Baghdād, that Abu Ḥanīfah dreamt that he was digging open the tomb of the Prophet, and sent to consult Ibn Sīrīn (*No. 539*), who returned this answer: "The person who had this dream will lay open a science never before discovered." Al-Shāfi'ī (*No. 532*) relates as follows: "Mālik (*No. 524*), being asked if he ever saw Abū Ḥanifah, replied: 'I did. He was a man of such talent that, if he spoke of this pillar and undertook to demonstrate that it was of gold, he would do so, and adduce good proofs.'" Ḥarmalah Ibn Yaḥyā (*No. 147*) relates that al-Shāfi'ī said: "There are five men on whom people must rely for the nourishment of their minds: he who wishes to become learned in Jurisprudence must have recourse to Abū Ḥanīfah";—Abū Ḥanīfah was then considered as one of the highest authorities in Jurisprudence;—"he who desires to become skilled in poetry must apply to Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā[1]: he who would like to become well acquainted with the history of the Muslim conquests must obtain his information from Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq (*No. 586*); he who wishes to become deeply learned in grammar, must have recourse to al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*), and he who seeks to be acquainted with the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* must apply to Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān (*No. 706*)" This anecdote is related by the Khaṭīb, in his History. "In my opinion," says Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn[2], "Ḥamzah (*No. 199*) is the only man for the *Qur'ān-readings*) and Abū Ḥanīfah the only man for Jurisprudence; and I find that every one agrees with me on this point." Ja'far Ibn Rabī'ah said: "I attended (*the lessons of*) Abū Ḥanīfah during five years, and I never met a man who would remain silent as long as he; but, when he was questioned concerning (*a point of*) Jurisprudence, he would launch out into a flux of words, copious as a torrent; and, when he discoursed, I remarked that he spoke (*sometimes*) in an under tone and (*sometimes*) in a loud one. In the art of drawing conclusions from analogies (*qiyās*) he was a master of the highest rank." 'Alī

1 Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā was the author of one of the *Mu'allaqahs*. For his history, see Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome II, p. 527.

2 The life of Ibn Ma'īn will be found in this work.

Ibn' Āṣim[1] relates as follows: "I went to visit Abū Ḥanifah and found with him a barber[2] who was about to shorten his hair. He said to the man: 'Cut away those parts only which are turning white.' The other replied: Do not insist (*on that*).' 'Why not ?' said Abū Ḥanīfah. 'Because', said the barber, 'that will increase their whiteness'. 'Well', said Abū Ḥanīfah, cut away those parts which are black; that may *perhaps* increase their blackness'. When I related this conversation to Sharīk (*No. 270*), he laughed and said: 'If ever Abū Ḥanīfah gave up his system of *qiyās*, he did so with this barber.[3]" The following relation was made by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rajā: "Abū Ḥanīfah had for a neighbour, in Kūfah, a shoemaker who worked the whole day and came home. at nightfall, with a piece of meat which he boiled, or a fish which he fried. He would then set to drinking and, when the liquor got into his head, he would begin to sing. The words which he sang were always those:

'They allowed me to perish, and what a man have they left to perish! (*one who cauld have served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defence of a breach!'

He would remain drinking and repeating this verse till overcome by sleep. Abū Ḥanīfah, being accustomed to pass his nights in prayer, heard constantly the din of that man's singing. Having perceived, after some time, that the noise had discontinued, he inquired for the man and was informed that he had been taken up by the guard and put into prison. The next morning, when he had finished the prayer of day-break, he got on his mule, went to the amīr's (*the chief of the police*?) and asked admittance. The amīr gave orders to introduce him without letting him dismount till he could set his foot on the carpet (*which covered the hall*). He then seated him in the place of honour, shewed him every mark of attention and asked him what he required. Abū Ḥanīfah answered: 'I have for my neighbour a shoemaker and, some nights

---

1 The *ḥāfiẓ* 'Alī Ibn 'Āṣim Ibn Ṣuhayb died A,H. 201 (A.C. 816-7). (*Nujum*).

2 Literally: with a cupper (or barber-surgeon).

3 Because he employed the word *perhaps* and did not draw an absolute conclusion.

ago, he was taken up by the guard. Will the amir have the kindness to order that he be set at liberty? ' 'I will let him out', replied the amir, 'not only him but all the persons arrested from that night till this day[1]'. He then gave orders for their immediate liberation. Abū Ḥanīfah rode off, and the shoemaker followed him on foot. On dismounting, he went over to him and said: 'Well, my good fellow! did I allow you to perish ?[2]'. The other answered: 'Oh the contrary; you, preserved me and fulfilled the duty of a good neighbour; may God reward you.' He then abandoned his evil ways and never returned to them again". Ibn al-Mubārak related this anecdote: "I met with Abū Ḥanīfah on the road to Makkah. He had caused the flesh of a fat young camel to be roasted for his companions and, as they wished to eat it with vinegar and could find no dish into which they might pour it out, they were very much embarrassed, I then saw him make a shallow hole in the sand, spread over it the (*sufrah or leathern hide in which the provisions are packed up*) and pour the vinegar into the concavity. Being thus enabled to eat their roast-meat with vinegar they said to him: 'All you do is well done'. He 'replied: 'Adderss your thanks to God, for it was on your account that He, out of His bounty, sent me this inspiration.' " The same Ibn Mubārak related that he once said to Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No. 248*) "Abū 'Abd Allāh! I never saw a man less given to backbiting than Abū Ḥanīfah; never did I hear him speak ill of the absent." Sufyān replied: "By Allāh! he is too wise to allow that his good qualities should be overcome by another quality which would destroy them". Abu Yūsuf[3] related as follows: "Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr sent for Abū Ḥanīfah, on which the chamberlain al-Rabī', who bore great ill-will towards the latter, said: 'Commander of the faithful! this Abū Ḥanīfah maintains an opinion contrary to that which was held by Ibn 'Abbās, your ancestor, who said that when

1 This anecdote is incorrectly given; the author of the *Naẓm al-Jumān* relates it in a much more satisfactory manner. According to him, the magistrate asked the prisoner's name, and, on Abū Ḥanīfah's saying that he did not know, he declared that he should set at liberty all those who had been arrested on the night which Abū Ḥanīfah mentioned.

2 This was an allusion to the words of the song.

3 Probably the Ḥanafite doctor whose life is given in No. 797.

a man takes an oath and puts restrictions to it, one or two days after, his restrictions are valid. Now Abū Ḥanīfah teaches that restrictions are not valid unless enounced simultaneously with the oath. On hearing this, Abū Ḥanīfah said : 'Commander of the faithful ! al-Rabi now asserts that the oath of fidelity towards you, which was taken by your troops. may not be binding.' 'How so !' (*said the khalif*). 'Because,' answered Abū Ḥanīfah, when they went back to their dwellings, they might have made such restrictions as rendered the oath null'. Al-Manṣūr laughed and said to al-Rabī: 'I advise you to avoid hereafter attacking Abū Ḥanīfah'. When the latter retired, al-Rabī' said to him : 'You meant to bring about the shedding of my blood.' No.' replied Abū Ḥanīfah, 'but you meant to bring about the shedding of mine, and I saved not only myself but you ! Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī bore great ill-will to Abū Ḥanīfah, a fact of which the latter was well aware ; one day, on seeing him enter into al-Manṣūr's presence-chamber, where there was a numerous assembly, he said to himself : "I shall have his life taken this very day. He then turned towards him and said : 'Tell me, Abū Ḥanīfah ! if a man be ordered by the Cammander of the faithful to behead another man without knowing anything about his conduct, is it lawful for him to obey ?' " Abū Ḥanīfah answered : "Tell me Abu 'l-Abbās ! does Commander of the faithful order what is right or what is wrong ?" The other replied : "He orders what is right." "Well", said Abū-Ḥanīfah, "let right be done and no questions asked." He then said to those who were near him : "That man thought to have me cast into bonds, but I shackled him". Yazīd Ibn al-Kumayt relates the following anecdote : "Abū Ḥanīfah stood in great awe of the Lord, and, one night, the mu'adhdhin, 'Alī, Ibn al-Ḥasan, recited to us the chapter of the *Earthquake* (*Qur'ān, sūrah 99*), after finishing the *'ashā* prayer[1], and Abū Ḥanīfah was behind him. When the congregation withdrew, I looked and saw Abū Ḥanīfah seated on the floor, in profound meditation and uttering deep sighs. So I said : 'I shall go away, for he minds me not.' On departing, I left the lamp burning, and in it was very little oil. The next morning after daybreak, I returned back and found him standing, with his

---

1 See No. 257, note.

hand clutched on his beard and saying: 'O Thou who givest a reward even for an atom's weight of good-works! O Thou who punishest, even for an atom's weight of evil-deeds! protect Thy servant, al-Nu'mān, from the fire (*of Hell*) and deliver him from the evil which conducts thereto! Permit him to enter into the greatness of Thy mercy!' I then pronounced the call to prayer, whilst the lamp was still burning and he standing. When I went in, he asked me if I came to take away the lamp. I answered: 'I have just made the call to morning prayer.' On this, he told me not to speak of what I had seen and made a prayer of two *rak'ahs*[1]. He then remained seated, till the public prayer began, and he joined in it, that morning without having made any ablution since the preceding evening[2]." Asad Ibn 'Amr[3] states that, according to accounts handed down respecting Abū Ḥanīfah, he always said the morning prayer without making any other ablution than that of the prayer on the previous evening; "and this", said he, "continued during forty years". He spent the night in reciting the whole of the *Qur'ān*, whilst making a single *rak'ah*, and his sobbings were so loud that the neighbours would pray God to have pity on him. It has been handed down that, in the place where he died, he had recited the entire *Qur'ān* seven thousand times. Ismā'īl, the son of Ḥammād and the grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, relates that he heard his father say: "When my father died, we asked al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Umārah to take charge of washing the corpse, which he did. When he had finished, he exclaimed: 'May God have mercy on you and pardon your sins! you never, for thirty years back, took a morning's meal, and never, for forty years back, did you pillow your head on your right hand during the night! you have (*outdone and*) fatigued those who strive to follow your example, and brought down disgrace upon the *Qur'ān-readers*.'" The anecdotes told of Abū Ḥanīfah's merit and of his decisions are very numerous; the Khaṭīb has inserted many of them in his History (*of Baghdād*) but, to those, he has subjoined others which it would have been fitter

1 See No. 270.

2 Ablution is necessary before morning prayer, if the person slept, even for a moment, during the night.

3 The jurisconsult Asad Ibn 'Amr al-Bajali died A.H. 190 (A.C. 805-6). (*Nujum*).

for him to omit and not to notice : for no doubt can be entertained respecting the sincere religious convictions, the piety and the discretion of an *imām* such as he. Never was anything reproached to him but his insufficient acquaintance with Arabic grammar. As an example of his faults in that line, they tell us that the grammarian and *Qur'ān-reader*, Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā (*No. 480*) asked him, one day if the slaying of a man with a heavy object necessitated retaliation or not, and received an answer in the negative, conformably to Abū Ḥanīfah's own system of Jurisprudence and in opposition to the system established by al-Shāfi'ī. Abū 'Amr then said to him : "What say you if a man slay another with a stone shot from a ballista ?" and he replied : "Not even if he slew him with (*a stroke of*) *Abā* Qubays !" which is the name of the mountain overhanging Makkah. To palliate this fault of his[1], it was said that he spoke so conformably to the doctrine of those who teach that the six words of the language which are (*usually*) declined by a change of letters[2] and which are *abūh* (his father), *akhūh* (his brother), *ḥamūh* (his brother-in-law), *fūh* (his mouth), *ḥanūha* (her matrix) and (*dhū* in the expression) *dhū māl* (possessing wealth, should take the alif (a) in the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative cases. In proof of their opinion they cited this verse (*of an ancient poet* :)

"Her father and the father of her father[3] attained to the highest point of excellence."

This is one of the provincialisms peculiar to the inhabitants of Kūfah and, as Abū Ḥanīfah belonged to that city, he conformed to its dialect. This digression has led us from our subject, but discourse is liable to deviations and one matter brings on another. Abū Ḥanīfah was born A.H. 80 (A.C. 699-700; other accounts give the years 70 and 61, but the first date is the surest. He died in the month of Rajab (August), or of Sha'bān, according to another statement, and in the year 150 (A.C. 767). Some say 151 or 153 and on the 14th of the month of Rajab, but

1 He should have said *Abī* (in the genitive case).

2 Example : Nom. *Abū*, Gen. and Dat. *Abī* Ac. *Abā*.

3 Abā *abāhā* is used here for *Aba abīhā*.

the date given first is right. He died in the prison at Baghdād, having been confined there in order that he might consent to fill the place of *qāḍī*, and that he would not do. This is the more authentic account, for some say that he did not die in confinement. According to another relation his death took place on the day of al-Shāfi'ī's birth. He was buried in the Khayzurān cemetery, and his tomb, which is a well-known monument, is much frequented by pious visitors. *Zūṭā* is a Nabaṭean name. *Kābul* is a place of great note, in India. It has produced a number of remarkable men, some of them distinguished for learning, and all of them bearing the surname of *al-Kābulī*. As for Bābil and *al-Anbār*, these names are so well-known that it is needless to mark their pronunciation. Sharaf al-Mulk Abū Sa'd Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr al-Khuwārazmī who was secretary of state under the reign of the Saljūq sulṭān, Malik Shāh, erected a chapel and dome over the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfah and, close to it, he built a large college for the instruction of students in Ḥanafite law. When the work was finished, he rode out to inspect it with a numerous retinue of men high in office. Whilst he was there, the *sharif* Abū Ja'far Mas'ūd, the same who was generally known by the surname of al-Bayāḍī (*No. 692*) went up to him and recited to him extempore these lines :

"Saw you not how science remained disconnected, till it was embodied by him who is now hidden in this tomb. Thus also was this spot of earth : it remained sterile, till the generosity of his excellence Abū Sa'd gave it new life."

For this impromptu the poet received an ample reward. Abū Sa'd built also a college at Marw and a number of *ribāṭs* (*No. 72, note*) and caravānsera'is in the deserts. He was noted for the great number of his charitable foundations. Towards the close of his life, he left the service of the state and confined himself to his house. but was then frequently applied to for advice on public affairs. He died in the month of Muḥarram, 494 (Nov-Dec., A.C. 1100) at Iṣbahān. Abū Ḥanīfah's mausoleum and the dome over it were erected by Abū Sa'd in the year 459 (A.C. 1066-7). I stated (*No. 665*), in the life of Alp Arslān, the father of the sulṭān

* Afghānistān was not a separate country in those days.

Malik Shāh, that it was he (*Alp Arslān*) who erected the mausoleum over the grave of Abū Ḥanīfah, and so I found it recorded in a historical work; but I do not now recollect from what book I took my information. I discovered afterwards that the person who built the chapel and the dome was Abu Sa'd; but it is probable that he only presided over its erection as being Alp-Arslān's representative, a very usual thing with sovereigns and their lieutenants. It was for this reason that the construction of the monument was attributed to Alp Arslān during that sovereign's life-time. This is indicated by the date of the construction, which falls within the reign of that sovereign and by the fact that Abū Sa'd was then acting as his secretary of state. Abū Sa'd remained in office after accession of Malik Shāh. Those observations I make for the purpose of reconciling the two statements.

739 THE QĀḌĪS OF THE NU'MĀN FAMILY

Abū Hanīfah al-Nu'mān Ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥayyūn was a doctor highly distinguished for his talents. The amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbiḥī mentions him in his historical work and says: "He was a man noted for learning, for skill in Jurisprudence, for piety and for talents not to be surpassed. He composed a number of works, one of which was the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Uṣūl al-Madhāhib (treatise on the differences which exist between the fundamental principles of the various systems of Jurisprudence)*. He at first followed the doctrine of Mālik, but then passed over to the sect of the Imāmiyahs (*the Fāṭimids*), and drew up a work entitled *Kitāb Ibtidā al-Da'wah li'l 'Ubaydiyīn* (*on the origin of the mission got up in favour of the Fāṭimids*). He composed also two treatises on Jurisprudence, the one bearing the title of *Kitāb al-Akhbār* (*book of information*), and the other *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (*the vindicator*). Ibn Zūlāq *(No. 159)* has an article, in his history of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt, on Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of Nu'mān we are here speaking of, and there we read a passage to this effect: "His

father, the *qāḍī* al-Nu'mān Ibn Muḥammad, was a man of the highest abilities, deeply versed in the *Qur'ān*, fully acquainted with the meaning of the expressions contained in that book, skilled in the systems of Jurisprudence, well informed respecting the conflicting opinions entertained by the legists, learned in Arabic philology, in poetry of the higher class, in the history of the battle days of the people (*the ancient Arabs*), and distinguished for intelligence and equity. He composed for that family (*the Fāṭimids*) some volumes containing thousands of leaves; they were drawn up with great talent and in a style remarkable for the beauty of its cadences and rhymes. He composed also a good work on the meritorious and disgraceful acts *(committed by the Arabian tribes)*, and wrote a number of refutations addressed to those who contested his opinions. One of these treatises was directed against Abū Ḥanīfah *(the imām)*, another against Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī and another against Ibn Surayj *(No. 20)*. In his work entitled *Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā (differences of opinion between the doctors)*, he takes the defence of the *People of the House (the Fāṭimids)*. To a poem of his, treating of Jurisprudence, he gave the title of *al-Muntakhab (choice selection)*. He was attached to the service of al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add Ibn al-Manṣūr,"—(a sovereign whom we have already noticed*)*—"and, when that prince set out from Ifrīqiyah for Egypt, he accompanied him. He did not long survive *(the journey)*, his death having taken place in Old Cairo, on the first of Rajab, 363 (28th March, A.C. 974)." Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Farghānī states, in his History of the *qā'id* Jawhar (Vol. I, p. 340) that he died on the eve of Friday, the last day of the second Jumāda, in the year just mentioned, and that the funeral prayer was said over him by al-Mu'izz. Ibn Zūlāq speaks of him after mentioning the death of al-Mu'izz, when he gives the names of that sovereign's children and of the *qāḍīs* who acted by his appointment. He there says: "And his *qāḍi*, the one who came with him from Maghrib, was Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān, the son of Muḥammad the missionary[1]. On arriving at Old Cairo, he *(al-Mu'izz)* found that Jawhar had established there provisionally as *qāḍī* a native of Baghdād named Abū Ṭāhir al-Dhuhlī,

1 See No. 542, note.

and this appointment he confirmed." Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, Abū Ḥanīfah's father, lived to an advanced age. When four years old, he could recite many curious pieces which he had learned by heart. He died in the month of Rajab, 351 (August, A.C. 962), aged one hundred and four years, and was buried near the Bāb Salām, one of the gates of Qayrawān. The funeral service was said over him by his son.

Abū Ḥanīfah left a number of sons who distinguished themselves by their talents and rose to high places under government. *(One of them,)* Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī was appointed by al-Mu'izz to act as the associate of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad in the post of *qāḍī* and chief magistrate. This Abū Ṭāhir was the son of Aḥmad, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of Naṣr, the son of Bujayr, the son of Ṣāliḥ, the son of Usāmah al-Dhuhlī. The two continued to act with joint authority till the death of al-Mu'izz and the accession of al-'Azīz Nizār, that prince's son. The new sovereign confided to the *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥasan the administration of the two *(principal)* mosques and the direction of the mint, but the magisterial authority was shared by them both till the *qāḍī* Abū Ṭāhir had a derangement of humours which paralized one of his sides and rendered him incapable of moving from one place to another without being carried. On the 1st of Ṣafar, 366 (29th Sept. A.C. 976), al-'Aziz proceeded on horseback to the island which lies between Old Cairo and Jīzah. Abū Ṭāhir, accompained by his assessors, was borne the gate of the Ṣan'ā[1] and, being presented to the prince, requested him to take into consideration the state of weakness to which he was reduced and allow him to employ, as his substitute, his own son Abu 'l-'Alā. It is related that al-'Azīz said, on seeing him so much emaciated : "Nothing remains to be done with that man but to make *qadīd* of him.[2]" Two days later,

1 The naval arsenal (*dār al-ṣan'a*) situated in the island of Rūḍah was called the Ṣan'ā, by abbreviation. See Maqrīzī's *khiṭaṭ*, or topographical description of Cairo, edition of Būlāq, Vol. II, p. 178.

2 *Qadīd* is the name given to long stripes of flesh salted and dried in the sun. Al-'Aziz's words are equivalent to the expression : he is only fit to make cat's-meat of. The prince did not like Abū Ṭāhir and paid no attention to his request.

the prince nominated to the exclusive possession of the *qāḍiship* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of al-Nu'mān. Abu 'l-Ḥasan then rode to the great mosque of Cairo and caused his diploma to be read there to the public ; and from thence he proceeded to *the Jāmi' al-Atiq (the ancient mosque)* at old Cairo and presided at the same ceremony. The person who read the diploma was his brother, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān. By this document he was empowered to act as *(supreme) qāḍi* over all the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Makkah, Madīnah, Maghrib and the other countries belonging to al-'Azīz ; it authorized him, besides, to act as *(chief)* preacher, *(chief)* imām, inspector of the gold and silver coinage and controller of weights and measures. He then returned to his house, accompanied by a crowd of people, no one thinking it proper to stay away. The *qāḍī* Abū Ṭāhir, being always unwell, was obliged to keep to his room, and there he taught Traditions to the numerous scholars who went to visit him. This continued till the end of the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 367 (9th July, A.C. 978), when he died. He had then attained the age of eighty-eight years, and had held the post of *qāḍi* for sixteen years, and seventeen days. He was authorized, during that period, to revise the judgments *(pronounced in the courts of law)*, but he could never fill this duty in a satisfactory manner. He had acted for some time as a magistrate in that suburb of Baghdād which lies on the east bank *(of the Tigris)* ; but he subsequently removed to Egypt. The *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī then chose for deputy his own brother, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, and placed under his jurisdiction *(the towns of)* Damietta, Tinnīs, al-Faramā and *(the country of)* al-Jifār. Abū 'Abd Allāh proceeded to those places and, having installed deputies in them, he returued back. Soon after, in the year 367, al-'Azīz set out for Syria, and Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who accompanied him left his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh to act as judge in his place. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was well versed in a number of sciences ; besides his knowledge of the duties incumbent on a *qāḍī* and of the grave and dignified manner in which they should be filled, he was well acquainted with Jurisprudence, Arabic philology, polite literature, poetry and the stories of the battle-days *(of the ancient Arabs)*. He was also a good poet and held a high rank in the art of verse. On of his pieces is given by

al-Tha'ālibī (*No.* 356) in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and runs as follows :

"I have such a friend that poverty never attains me, once his eyes fall upon my wants. He gives (*me*) wealth, satisfies (*my wishes*) and obliges me neither to kiss his hand nor his foot. He took charge of my interests when I neglected them, and minded my affairs when I heeded them not."

Al-Tha'ālibī gives also as his, the following piece in which the same idea is expressed :

"I have a friend, full of courtesy ; friendship like his is a title of honour. He shews me more regard than need be shown, and feels obliged to do more than is necessary. If his good qualities were appreciated at their full value, gold, compared with them, would be worthless."

The following verses are also given as his by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (*No. 450*), in the *Dumayt al-Qaṣr*, and are also to be found in the biographical article which Ibn Zulāq has devoted to him (*al-Nu'mān*) in the History of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt ; they are perfectly well turned :

"At 'Arafāt[1] I made the acquaintance of a maid whose beauty stole from me (*the merit of*) my good works. When I put on the pilgrim's dress, she forbade sleep to visit my eyes, and, with her glances, she laid waste my reserved park (*my heart*). When she *hurried along* (*from 'Arafāt*) with the other pilgrims tears hurried in emulation from my eyelids. She placed a burning coal on my heart when she walked towards the spot where they cast the pebbles. This soul of mine did not obtain its wish ; so I feared, when at al-Khayf, that the hour of my death was at hand".

Abu 'l-Ḥasan continued to fulfil the duties of a *qāḍī* and to remain in high favour with al-'Azīz, till he caught a fever whilst

1 This piece is full of verbal quibbles and clever allusions to the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and the places near Makkah where these ceremonies are accomplished.

presiding, in the mosque, over the court of justice. He rose up immediately and returned to his house, where he expired after an illness of fourteen days. His death took place on Monday, the 6th of Rajab, 374 (3rd Dec., A. C. 984). The next morning, he was borne on a bier into the presence of al-'Azīz who was then (*with the army*) encamped in the plain of al-Jubb, near the place which is now known by the name of al-Birkah (*the pond*)[1]. The bier was then deposed in the mosque called *Masjid al-Bīr wa 'l-Jummayzah* (*the mosque of the well and the sycamore fig-tree*). Al-Azīz left the camp and went to say the funeral prayer over the corpse, which was then carried back and buried in the house of the deceased, situated in the *Ḥamrā*. Three places in old Cairo had received this name because the Europeans used to lodge there[2]. Al-'Azīz then dispatched to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's brother, a message worded in these terms : "The place of *qāḍī* is yours ; we shall never allow it to pass out of your family".Abu 'l-Ḥasan had remained in office during nine years, five months and four days. He was born in Maghrib, in the month of the first Rabī', 329 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 940-1). Old Cairo remained for eighteen days without a *qāḍī* to arrange its affairs, and that because Abū 'Abd Allāh was unwell. When his malady abated, he rode in a palanquin to the camp of al-'Azīz. This was on Thursday, the 22nd of Rajab. The next day, Friday, he went from that to the Jāmi' al-Atīq after having received from al-'Azīz his appointment to the *qāḍīship*, with a pelisse of honour and the sword (*of office*) suspended from his shoulder. Being much enfeebled by sickness. he was unable to get down from the palanquin and enter into the mosque ; so he proceeded to his own house, and his son, accompanied by a band of his kinsmen, went to the mosque and read the diploma as soon as the Friday prayer was ended. The document was similar to that which had been drawn up for Abu 'l-Ḥasan and granted to the new *qāḍī* the same powers as his brother had received before. In the month of Dhu

---

1 See M. De Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. I, p. 187, of the second edition.

2 The adjective *ḥamrā* (*rubra*) served to designate such persons as had a clear complexion.

'l-Qa'dah 374 (March-April, A.C. 985), Muḥammad appointed his son Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz to act as his deputy in Alexandria. This was done by the order of al-'Azīz, who then arrayed Abu 'l-Qāsim in a robe of honour. On Friday, the Ist of the first Jumādā, 375 (19th September, A.C. 985), the *qāḍī* Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān married his son Abu 'l-Qāsim to the daughter of the *qāid* Jawhar. The marriage-act was signed at the levee of Al-'Azīz, and none were present except the officers of the court. The dowry settled (*by the bridegroom*) on the bride was three thousand pieces of gold and the *kitāb*[1] (*consisted of*) a single robe of one uniform colour. When al-Mu'izz, the father of al-'Azīz, was in Maghrib, he ordered the *qāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān to have an astrolabe made in silver and to place a trust-worthy person beside the workman (*lest he should embezzle some of the metal*). He chose his son, Muḥammad, for that purpose and, when the astrolabe was finished, he carried it to al-Mu'izz. "Whom did you place beside the workman?" said the prince. "My son Muḥammad," was the reply. "He shall be *qāḍī* of Egypt!" exclaimed al-Mu'izz, and so it happened. The fact was that al-Mu'izz having always entertained hopes of getting that country into his possession, was induced to utter these words, and his good fortune, seconded by destiny, effected for him what he wished. The *qāḍī* Muḥammad related the following anecdote: "When I was a boy, in Maghrib, al-Mu'izz would say to his son al-'Azīz, every time he saw me: There is your (*future*) *qāḍī*." Muḥammad was well acquainted with the (*leading*) maxims of Jurisprudence and a great number of sciences; he was an accomplished scholar and could recite, with much elegance, narrations, poems and stories respecting the battle-days (*of the Arabs*). He composed also some poetry, and one of his pieces is as follows:

"Thou who resemblest the moon of heaven, when she is seven (*days old*), and five (*more*) and two! Thou whose grace is the

---

1 The word *kitāb* means a book or a written document. It is evidently employed here as a law-term, but, as such, it is not to be found in the works on orthodox Jurisprudence. It may perhaps belong to the system of law professed by the Shī'ites and signify the *jihāz* (*in French, trousseau*) given to the bride.

perfection of beauty! Thou hast preoccupied my heart and kept sleep from my eyes. Can I hope to obtain from you any favour, or must I return back with the boots of Ḥunayn[1]? My enemies deride me for loving thee and say: 'There you are still with empty hands!' Be kind to me or take my life, thou hast the power to do one or the other."

The following piece was sent to him in a letter by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ja'farī, a native of Samarqand:

"All other *qāḍīs* have found their equals in renown, but Abū 'Abd Allāh is without a rival. He is unequalled in noble qualities admirable in honourable deeds, great and illustrious. In renown, splendid; in resolution, firm; (*brilliant*) like the flashing of the polished sword. In judging causes, he has right reason for a sworn companion; when he bestows, the abundant rain cloud is merely his precursor. Were we to examine the sentences pronounced by him, we should be let to declare that he was assisted by (*the angel*) Gabriel. When he mounts into the pulpit, he is really a Quss[2]; when he is present at assemblies, he is truly a Khalīl[3]."

---

1 This proverb means: much disappointed. It has been explained in three or four different manners, one of them as follows: A desert Arab, mounted on his camel, entered into a town, went to the Bāzār and bargained for a pair of boots. Not being able to conclude with the maker, whose name was Ḥunayn, he flew into a passion, gave him foul names and then, having made his other purchases, he got upon his camel. left the town and took the road leading to his tent. The boot-maker was so highly offended at the Arab's insulting language that he resolved on being revenged. Taking up the boots, he ran to the road by which the Arab had to pass and threw one of them on the ground. A mile or two farther on, he threw down the other and hid himself. The Arab saw the first boot as he was riding along and said: "There is one of the boots of Ḥunayn; if the other was with it. I should dismount and pick it up." About half an hour after, he perceived the other boot and regretted not having picked up the first; so he got off his camel, not wishing to fatigue it too much, and having fettered it with a cord, picked up the boot which was lying there and ran back to take up the other. As soon as he disappeared, Ḥunayn went off with the camel and the baggage. When the Arab returned, his camel was missing; so he went home on foot. Being asked what he had brought back, he replied "The boots of Ḥunayn."

2 See No. 62, note.

3 The person here ment was probably al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, See No. 208.

To this the *qāḍī* Muḥammad returned, in writing, the following answer:

"We have read in your poem charming things, such as a most refined genius only could produce. Its lines are as a delightful garden, diffusing around the penetrating odour of musk. When they are recited, their fragrance perfumes not only our dwellings but the very street. We long to see you, and you long to visit us. Send us, every day, verses like those; for you are capable of every generous deed."

The following passages are extracted from Ibn Zūlāq's History of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt: We never saw any *qāḍī* in Old Cairo, acquire so much influence as Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān, and, as far as we have learned, the like was never seen in 'Irāq. He well deserved that great authority on account of his learning, his integrity, his self command, the equity of his judgments and the awe (*which he inspired*). In the month of Muḥarram, 383 (Feb.-March, A.C. 993), he authorised his son, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz, to act as his deputy in Old and New Cairo and to fulfil the duties of a judge, uninterruptedly, every day. Before that, he himself gave audiences on Mondays and Thursdays only. Abu 'l-Qāsim commenced immediately to hear causes, to judge and to enregister acts. He (*Muḥammad*) had at first confided this place to his nephew, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, but, on the 10th of the first Jumādā, 377 (7th Sept., A.C. 987), he replaced him by his own son, Abu 'l-Qāsim, whom he authorised to act on Mondays and Thursdays only. The *qāḍī* Muḥammad had risen so highly in the favour of al-Azīz that, in the year 385, on the festival of the Sacrifice (5th Jan., A.C. 996), he was allowed by that sovereign to go up with him into the pulpit. When al-'Azīz died, it was the *qāḍī* Muḥammad who washed the corpse (*previously to interment*). Al-Ḥākim (*No. 715*), the son and successor of al-'Azīz, confirmed Muḥammad in his place, raised him to higher honours and augmented his authority. From the moment that the *qāḍī* acquired such favour at court and such influence in the state, he was frequently unwell and, being a constant sufferer from gout and colic, he was often laid up. The *ustād* Barjawān (*No. 109*), high in rank though he was, went very often

to visit him. The illness of the *qāḍī* continued to increase and, on the eve of Tuesday, the 4th of Ṣafar 389 (25th January, A.C. 999), he expired, immediately after the last evening prayer. Al-Ḥākim rode to the house of the deceased, at Cairo and, having there repeated the funeral prayer over the corpse, he presided at the interment, after which, he returned to his palace. The *qāḍī* Muḥammad was born in Maghrib on Sunday, the 3rd of Ṣafar, 340 (11th July, A.C. 951). His palace was given by al-Ḥākim to one of the courtiers. On Wednesday, the 9th of Ramaḍān (August, A.C. 999),* the body was removed to the *qāḍī's* private house in Old Cairo and, on the eve of Friday, the 10th, it was borne to the Qarāfah cemetery and deposited in the tomb which contained the bodies of his father and brother. After the death of Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammād, Cairo remained more than a month without a *qāḍī*. Al-Ḥākim then appointed to that office Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, and the same whom his uncle Muḥammad had authorised to act as his substitute and whom he afterwards replaced by his own son Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-Ḥusayn's nomination took place on the 6th of the first Rabī' 389 (25th February, A.C. 999). He remained in office till Thursday, the 16th of Ramaḍān, 394 (7th July, A.C. 1004), when his place was given to his cousin, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son of the above-mentioned Muḥammad. Some time after, al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, was beheaded by al-Ḥākim's order, and that for reasons too long to relate[1]. This occurred on Sunday, the 6th of Muḥarram, 395 (23rd October, A.C. 1004). He was

1 A sum of twenty thousand pieces of gold came into the possession of al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān who, being a *qāḍī*, acted as guardian and depositary of all property left by persons who died. The son of the deceased claimed it from him and received part of the sum by instalments. On asking for the rest, he was told by the *Qāḍī* that he was paid up and that no more remained. Al-Ḥākim, to whom the heir addressed a complaint, had the *Qāḍī* brought before him and the account-book (*dīwān*) of the tribunal examined. This inquest proved that a large sum remained due. The *qāḍī* acknowledged his guilt, indemnified the heir and begged for pardon. Al-Ḥākim deprived him of his place and sent him to prison, where he was beheaded, about a year afterwards, in A.H. 397 (A.C. 1006). *Ḥistory of the Qāḍīṣ of Cairo*; MS. of the *Bibl. Imp.*, ancien fonds, No. 690).

* 24 August.—Ed.

executed in the cell where he was confined, and his body was consumed by fire. Abu 'l-Qāsim then became *qāḍī* with undivided authority, and was chosen, besides by al-Ḥākim, to preside at the court of grievances[1]. He thus united in his attributions the functions of the two officers, a thing which never before happened to any member of his family. Al-Ḥākim then treated him with such favour that, on the day of the breaking of the Fast (*the 1st of the month of Shawwāl*), he permitted him to go up with him into the pulpit, immediately after the general-in-chief of the army. The same honour was accorded to him on the festival of the Sacrifice (*the 10th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*). In judging causes, he displayed great firmness of character and treated with extreme severity such of the grandees as dared to resist him. He even arrested many of them and did not allow them to leave the court till they had fulfilled their engagements. He continued to fill all the magisterial duties which al-Ḥākim had confided to him: but, on Friday, the 16th of Rajab, 398 (27th March, A.C. 1008), he was removed from office by that prince and replaced by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mālik Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Mālik al-Fāriqī. It was thus that the office of *qāḍī* passed out of the family of al-Nu'mān. Some time after, al-Ḥākim ordered *(some of)* his Turkish soldiers to kill, not only Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz, but the general Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of Jawhar and Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl, the brother of the *qā'id* Faḍl Ibn Sālih. They were all sabred, at the same moment, and that for reasons too long to relate. This happened on Friday, the 22nd of the latter Jumādā, 401 (31st January, A.C. 1011); the mercy of God be upon them! Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz was born on Monday, the 1st of the first Rabī', 354 (7th March, A.C. 965). Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Farghānī al-Miṣrī states, in his historical work, that he *(the qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir)* was well noted for reciting from memory a great number of pieces and for the agreeableness of his society: with his elders, he behaved like an elderly man, with the middle-aged men, like one who had reached that period of life, and, with young men, he acted as a youth. His death took place on the eve of the 30th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 367 (9th July, A.C. 978).

---

1 See No. 141, note.

740 AL-SAYYIDAH NAFĪSAH

Al-Sayyidah[1] Nafīsah was the daughter of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, the son of Zayd, the son of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. She arrived in Old Cairo with her husband Isḥāq, the son of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. According to another account, she went there with her father, al-Ḥasan, whose tomb, it is said, may be seen in Old Cairo, but is not generally known. He had been governor of Madīnah in the name of (*the khalif*) Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and had held that post during five years when he incurred this sovereign's displeasure and was dismissed from office. All his property was confiscated and he himself shut up in the prison at Baghdād and detained there till the death of al-Manṣūr. Al-Mahdī having then come to the throne, gave him his liberty and restored to him all that had been taken from him. Al-Ḥasan afterwards remained with him and when that prince set out to make the pilgrimage, he followed in his train, but died on reaching al-Ḥājir, A.H. 168 (A.C. 784-5), at the age of eighty-five years. Al-Ḥājir is at five miles from Madīnah. "According to another statement he died at Baghdād and was interred in the cemetery of al-Khayzurān ; but the fact is that he died at al-Ḥājir". So says the *Khaṭīb* in his History of Baghdād, but God knows best the truth. Nafīsah was a woman noted for her piety and the holiness of her life. It is related that the imām al-Shāfi'ī, when he arrived in Old Cairo, for the date, see his life (*No. 532*), went to visit her and learned some Traditions from her. The people of Cairo had the highest esteem for her, and the veneration in which she was held subsists up to the present day. When al-Shāfi'ī died, his corpse was brought into her house, and she there said over it the funeral prayer. The spot on which that house stood is now occupied by Nafīsah's mausoleum. She continued to dwell there during the remainder of her life. Her death took place in the month of Ramaḍān, 208 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 824). When she expired, her husband, al-Mu'tamin Isḥāq, the son of 'Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, resolved on transporting the body to Madīnah but, at the request of the

1 The word *Sayyidah* signifies *mistress* and is sometimes employed, as here, to distinguish certain females remarkable for the holiness of their lives. It is now pronounced *Sidah, Sittā* or *sitt*, and bears the meaning of *madam*.

inhabitants of Cairo, he consented to leave it with them. The place where she was buried now bears her name; lies between Old and New Cairo, in the neighbourhood of the other mausoleums. This place was then called the Darb al-Sabā' (*Lion street*), but the street fell into ruin and nothing now remains there except her funeral chapel and her tomb. This tomb has a great reputation, experience having shewn that prayers said near it are fulfilled.

741 *IBN AL-SHAJARĪ

The *sharīf* Abu 'l Sa'ādāt Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamzah, a descendant of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī *Ibn Abī Tālib*) was a native of Baghdād and bore the surname of Ibn al-Shajarī. He held the highest rank as a grammarian and a philologer, was well acquainted with the poetry of the Arabs, the accounts of their battle-days and the occurrences which happened in these conflicts. Perfect in accomplishments, and full of literary information, he composed some works on (*Arabic*) philology, one of which, entitled *Kitāb al-Amālī* (*Book of Dictations*), is much more extensive and useful than the others. He dictated its contents in eighty-four sittings. This treatise contains a mass of information and a great variety of philological observations. He concluded it by the addition of another *sitting* in which he treated of nothing else but some verses of al-Mutanabbī's (*No. 49*), indicated the different manners in which they were explained by the commentators and added such observations as occurred to himself. It is a very instructive work. When he finished dictating it, he received the visit of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ibn al-Khashshāb (*No. 325*) who expressed to him the wish of hearing the work dictated and, by his refusal, he incurred the enmity of that author, who then attacked a great number of the opinions enounced in the work and declared them to be erroneous. Ibn al-Shajarī, having met with this refutation, wrote a reply to it and pointed out the mistakes into which his adversary had fallen. This treatise, forming one volume, appeared

* In M. de Slane's edition 11 notices under letter ه precede notice under و. In Egyptian edition the order is reverse.—Ed.

under the title of *al-Intisār* (*the vindication*) and, though very short, contained much useful information. He dictated it to the persons who attended his lectures. Another work of his entitled the *Hamāsah* and drawn up on the model of the *Hamāsah* composed by Abū Tammām al-Tā'i (*No. 143*) is really original and very good; he displayed in it great talent. A number of grammatical works were composed by him and also a treatise on synonyms. He published a commentary on the *Lum'a* of Ibn Jinnī (*No. 387*) and another on the *al-Taṣrīf al-Mulūki* (*of the same author*).[1] He spoke with great elegance, in a sweet expressive and simple style. He read over some Traditions under the direction of the great masters of that day, such as Abū 'l-Hasan al-Mubārak Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Sayrafī, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Binhān* the *kātib* and others. The *ḥāfiz* Ibn al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) mentions him in the *Dhayl* (*supplement*) and says: "I studied Traditions under him at the house of the wazir Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī[2], and I wrote down some pieces of poetry under his dictation (*when he taught)* at the College. I afterwards went and read over, under his tuition, a portion of the *Amāli (dictations)* composed by the grammarian Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab *(No. 42)*". The grammarian Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī *(No. 344)* says, in his *Manāqib al-Udabā* (*the merits of literary men)*: The learned doctor Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī *(No. 684)*, having gone to Baghdād, in one of his *(frequent)* journeys, with the intention of making the pilgrimage, went to visit our master Ibn al-Shajarī, and I accompanied him. When they met, *Ibn al.Shajarī)* addressed him in this verse of al-Mutanabbī's:

"Before we met him, we thought the acconts given of him were exaggerated; but, when we met, experience shewed **us** that we had underrated them."

---

1 This title appears to signify the *imperial treatise on grammatical inflections.*

2 The *sharif* Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī, wazīr to the 'Abbasid Khalifs al-Mustarshid and al-Muqtafi, was noted for his talents and his generosity. Having been removed from office, he passed the remainder of his days in poverty and died in the reign of the last mentioned khalif. (*al-Fakhrī*).

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Shihāb.—Ed.

He then recited him following lines :

"In questioning the (*returning*) caravans, I obtained the fairest accounts of Ja'far Ibn Falāh ; and, by Allāh ! when we met, I found that my ears had not heard any thing to equal what I witnessed with my eyes."

I have already mentioned these verses in the life of Ja'far Ibn Falāh ; (*No. 134*) and stated that they were composed by Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī (*No. 642*), but they have been attributed to other poets. "To this compliment, al-Zamakhsharī made the following reply : 'It is related of the Prophet that, on receving the visit of Zayd al-Khayl[1], he said to him : 'O Zayd ! before the promulgation of Islāmism, I never heard a favourable account given of a man without perceiving, after the introduction of Islāmism, that he was inferior to his reputation. Thou art the only exception.' We then withdrew," said Ibn al-Anbārī, "and were much struck by the *sharīf's* quoting verses to express his feelings and by al-Zamakhsharī's quoting a tradition, one who did not belong to the Arabic race". This anecdote is not given in Ibn al-Anbārī's words, but it contains their substance. I did not take it from the book itself, but became acquainted with it long ago and kept it in my recollection. I mention this lest such persons as may read the book should suppose that I am careless in my quotations, when they perceive the difference between the two manners in which the anecdote is related. Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt (*Ibn al-Shajarī*) was the *naqīb* (*or syndic*) of those 'Alides who resided in (*the suburb of*) al-Karkh. He acted there as the lieutenant of his father (*'Alī*) al-Ṭāhir. He composed some good poetry, such as the *qaṣīdah* in which he eulogizes the wazīr Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr[2], and which begins thus :

"Here is (*the source of*) al-Sudayrah and the pond full to overflowing. (*Here you formerly met the beloved*) so follow my

1 For an account of this celebrated chieftain, see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l' histoire des Arabes*.

2 Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffar Ibn Jahīr acted as wazīr to the khalif al-Muqtafī li-amr Allāh. Two other wazīrs bore the surname of Ibn Jahīr ; see No. 674.

advice and suppress the feelings of your heart. Tell me, lotus-tree of the valley! Thou whose fragrance widely diffused would suffice to guide towards thee the nocturnal traveller, if he lost his way. The happy days which a fond lover once passed under thy shade, will they return to him again before his death? How unjust was that fawn (*maiden*) in refusing even a glance (*of her eye*) to one who was borne down by love, and in treating his prayers with disdain. Remote is the place where I might meet her ; she is far away. and yet she is near, for she dwells within my bosom. (*She is like*) a slender twig which bends before the zephyr and bears on its top a moon (*visage*) surrounded with impending darkness (*her hair*). When the glances of other eyes partook in the contemplation of her charms, these eyes of (*mine, who am*) a benighted traveller, obtained not, from that source, a single refreshing draught. We passed near (*the valley of*) al-Aqīq and, at the sight of those meadows and pasture grounds in which the gazelles were roaming, our passion was renewed. We wept, on reaching those shady groves ; yet, how often have flowing tears betrayed the secret of the lover! Years of drought have laid bare the remains of her abode, and the (projecting) ruins, now abandoned, appear like camels drawing water from the wells. Look there, my two companions! may your lives be long, and may showers protracted and lasting like the flow of the evening rain-cloud refresh your dwellings! Are those handsome statues which appear before our eyes? or are they a flock of does ? or else maidens amplis natibus praeditae? Are those the eyes of gazelles which look on us through the veils? Are they human cheeks and noses which we see? When they turned towards us, they left not a member of our body unscathed ; even the ravenous beasts had compassion on it. How can this heart (*of mine*) hope for delivery from the bondage of love and from misery, if she who wounds it ever soothes and flatters? Were a draught of water from (*the spring of*) Ḍārij (near *which my beloved resided,*) to moisten the soil (*of my heart*) the germs of affliction would make on it no impression".

Here the poet introduces the eulogy (*of his patron*). This part I abstain from inserting, lest I should be led too far, and, besides, my object, in admitting the extract which precedes, was to give the reader an idea of Ibn al-S̲h̲ajarī's poetical style.

Here is another piece by the same author;

"Can love remain concealed when our tears bear witness to its existence? Can the lover who gainsays the reports of jealous spies persist in denying (*the truth*)? How long will you continue to wear out yo ir eyes with weeping, you who know that Labīd fixed a term to the shedding of tears? Though my (*stature, formerly as strait as a*) wand is now bent by old age, I still possess fortitude and energy sufficient to bear up under afflictions.

This passage contains an allusion to a thought expressed in the following lines by Labīd Ibn Rabī'ah al-'Āmirī[1];

"My two daughters wished their father to live for ever; is he then of another race than Rabī'ah and Muḍar? Arise (*my girls*) and proclaim all you know (*of my merits*), but do not tear your faces nor cut off your hair. Say he was a man who never abandoned his friend, who never broke a promise and who never deceived. Continue thus for a year, then the salutation of peace be upon you! The person who weeps a whole year is justified (*in not continuing*)".

It was to these verses that Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī alluded when he said:

"My friends departed and I wept for their loss during a year; then I ceased, according to the precept of Labīd".

A certain degree of jealousy, such as usually, reigns between men of talent, existed between Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt (*Ibn al-Shajarī*) *and* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmed Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥakīnā* al-Harīmī[2], a native of Baghdād and a celebrated poet. This is the same person whose name is mentioned in our life of al-Harīrī, the author of the *Maqāmāt* (*No. 510*). When he (*Ibn Ḥakīnā*) read the poems of his rival, he addressed to him the following lines:

---

1 This Labīd is the author of the *Mu'allaqah*; see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai, etc.*, tome II, page 487. His life, by the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, has been given by M. de Sacy in the same volume which contains the Arabic text of *Kalīlah and Dimnah*.

2 See No 746, note

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Jakīnā.—Ed.

"I declare, sir! in the name of Him Who should prevent you from composing verses which stupefy the understanding! that you have nothing in common with your ancestor (*Muḥammad*) except your incapacity for poetry."

The anecdotes related of Ibn al-Shajarī are very numerous, but we prefer being concise. He was born in the month of Ramaḍān, 450 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1058), and died on Thursday, the 26th of Ramaḍān, 542 (18th February, A.C. 1148). The next morning, he was buried in his house situated in al-Karkh (*the suburb*) of Baghdād. *Shajarī* is an adjective derived from *Shajarah* which is the name of a village in the dependencies of Madīnah. The word *Shajarah* is also employed as the name of a man; the Arabs of the desert gave it this application and their example was followed by others. A great number of persons, some of them men of learning, bore the surname of al-Shajarī. I do not know whether our poet derived his from the name of the village or from that of one of his ancestors who might have borne the name of *al-Shajarah*. We have spoken of *al-Karkh* in the life of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (*No. 702*).

742 AL-BADĪ' AL-ASṬURLĀBĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of Yūsuf, or of Aḥmad, according to another statement, and surnamed *al-Badī' al-Asṭurlābī'* (*the admirable the maker of astrolabes*), was a celebrated poet and an accomplished scholar. As a maker of astronomical instruments, he was considered to be the ablest man of the age. In that art, he possessed consummate skill, and by it he gained a large fortune, under the Khalīfate of al-Mustarshid. When he died, he left no one capable of replacing him in his profession. Abu 'l-Ma'āli 'l-Hazīrī (*No. 242*) speaks of him in the *Zīnat al-Dahr*, and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī (*No. 678*). mentions him in the *Kharīdah*. Both authors praise him highly and (*the latter*) gives some pieces of verse composed by him, one of which is the following:

"I offer presents to (*my patron at*) his noble levee, but what I offer I received from his beneficence. The clouds, in shedding their rains upon the sea, place it under no obligation : from it they received their waters."

None of his verses has obtained such currency as these two, but they have been attributed to another author. The following piece is given as his :

' When (*his cheeks*) acquired the redness of blood[1] and put on the sable hue of the 'idhār[2], darkness settled upon them and *my heap was still measuring*[3]".

In the *Zinat al-Dahr*, these two lines are given as his, but I read elsewhere that they were composed by Abū Muhammad Ibn Hakīnā[4], the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Ibn al-Shajarī (*No. 741*). The expression *my heap was still measuring* is particular to the inhabitants of Baghdād and signifies, with them, *to struggle without being able to escape*. The work *kārah* (*heap*) is employed by them in speaking of flour and is equivalent to the word *jumlah* (*mass, heap*), made use of in Egypt. Here is another piece of his composition :

"Dixerunt: Amavisti (*ephebum*) levi gena praeditum, sed fama est illum barbatum (*nīkrīsh*) fieri.* I replied: The young peacock is never so handsome as when he is fully fledged."

Nikrīsh is a foreign (*a Persian*) word, formed of *nīk rish*, which signify a *handsome beard*. It is an establiahed practice with the Persians to invert the order of words with are in annexation[5]. He was extremely licentious, and admitted into his poetry such indelicate ideas as led him to employ the most obscene terms. It is for this reason that I insert here so few of his verses, though

1 Literally : of death.

2 See the Introduction to the first volume.

3 This proverbial expression is explained, a few lines farther on.

4 Here and elsewhere all the manuscripts and the editions read *Hakīnā*. 'Abd al-Hamīd gives : Jakīnāt. This appears to be right reading and is that given in the *Kharīdah*.—Ed.

5 They place the adjective before the substantive, which is contrary to the Arabic system.

* English version : The people reproached me saying : you were to love a beardless person, but yours has grown beard.

they are very numerous and were collected by himself into a *dīwān.* He took also the poems of Ibn Ḥajjāj (*No. 186*) and arranged them under one hundred and forty-one heads, according to their different subjects. This collection, to which he joined an appendix, received from him the title of *Durrat al-Tāj fī sh'ir Ibn Ḥajjāj (the pearl of the diadem, treating of the poems of Ibn Ḥajjāj).* He was full of grace in every thing he did. He died of a hemiplegy in the year 534 (A.C. 1139-40), and was interred in the cemetery called *the Wardiyah the rose-garden*), which lies on the eastern side of (*the river at*) Baghdād. *Asṭurlābi* is derived from *asṭurlāb*, the name of a well-known instrument (*the astrolabe*). Kūshyār Ibn Labbān Ibn Bāshahrī of Jīlān*1, the author of the *Kitāb al-Zīj (a set of astronomical tables)* says, in his treatise on the use of the astrolabe, that *astrolāb* is a Greek word and signifies *the balance of the sun.* I heard a learned doctor say that *lāb* is the name of the sun in the language of the Greeks, so that the word *asṭurlāb* is composed of (*the Arabic word) asṭur (lines)*, joined to *lāb*, and signifies the *lines of the sun*; indicating thus the lines traced upon the instrument. It is said that the inventor was Ptolemy, the author of the *Almegisti*, who was led to that discovery in the following manner: as he was taking a ride with an armillary sphere in his hands, he let it fall, and the animal on which he was riding trod upon it and broke (*or flattened*) it, so that it received the shape of an astrolabe. The great masters in the mathematical sciences thought till then, that the image (*or representation*) of the sphere could only be traced on a mass of a globular form, but Ptolemy then perceived that it could be reproduced upon a surface forming

1 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kūshyār Ibn Labbān Ibn Bāshahrī, a native of Jīlān in Persia, composed astronomical and astrological works, of which the most important were evidently the tables in which he gave the mean positions of the planets, conformably to the era of the Persians, that of Yazdigird. According to Ḥājī Khalīfah, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, article زيج كوشيار, the observations on which these tables were founded were made by Kūshyār in the year 459 (A.C. 1066-7), but, under title of مدخل في علم النجوم he states that this latter work was drawn up in the year 357 (A.C. 968) M. Reinaud, in his introduction to the French translation of Abu 'l-Feda's Geography, says that Kūshyār lived in the latter half of the eleventh century (from A.H. 442 to 494).

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : Jalabī.—Ed.

the half of a circumference, and that such an instrument would furnish the same results as were given by the armillary sphere. No one ever preceded him in this discovery; yet (*neither he*) nor any of the ancient supposed that it was possible to represent the image of the sphere upon a line (*a flat rule*). So they continued to employ the armillary sphere and the astrolable till the *shaykh* Sharaf al-Dīn al Tūsī,—the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus[1] and who was that person's preceptor in mathematics,—conceived the idea of a line (*or rule*) which would furnish all the results that the armillary sphere and the astrolabe could give. He called it *the staff* and wrote an elegant treatise on the subject. In some points, he committed mistakes which were rectified by the above mentioned Kamāl al-Dīn. Al-Tūsī was the first who produced this instrument; none of the ancients having ever known it. The result was that the form (*or configuration of the sphere*), which had been at first represented by means of a globe, that is, a solid having length, breadth and thickness, and which had then been delineated on a surface, which has only length and breadth, without thickness, was now marked on a line (*a rule*) having length only and neither breadth nor thickness. There remains only to reduce this representation to a point; but it is impossible to conceive how that can be done, since a point is neither a soild, nor a surface, nor a line, but only the extremity (*or limit*) of a line, in the same manner as the line is the extremity of the surface, and the sufrace of the solid. The point being indivisible, it is impossible to conceive how any thing can be delineated upon it. These observations are foreign to our subject, but they furnish some information which it is better to know than not.[2] Besides, we were led into them by the turn which our discourse had taken.

1 In the life of Ibn Yūnus (No. 663), the name of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī does not occur, neither is the title of Kamāl al-Dīn given to Ibn Yūnus. These indications, written, probably, by the author, on the margin of his own copy, are not to be found in our manuscripts. It is hardly necessary to observe that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī must not be confounded with the celebrated astronomer, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī who died in the latter half of the seventh century of lhe Hijrah.

2 Our author, like all musulmāns of that epoch, knew nothing of Greek and not much of astronomy. Here, he evidently speaks of matters which he did not well understand.

643 IBN AL-QAṬṬĀN, *THE POET*

Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Sālim, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (*the son of the cotton-spinner*), was a poet of great celebrity and a native of Baghdād. We have already spoken of him and given some of his verses in our articles on Ḥayṣ Bayṣ (?) (*No. 244*) and Ibn al-Sawādī (*No. 485*). He learned Traditions from a number of masters and taught them to some disciples. He was excessively licentious and dissolute, full of humour and pleasantry, pertinacious in flattering and in satirizing the proud and haughty. The witty sayings attributed to this poet and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous and amusing. His poetry has been collected into a *dīwān*. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (*No. 371*) mentions him in the *Kitāb al-Dhayl* and adds : "As a poet, he merited praise, his verses being fine and delicately turned ; but, with him, satire predominated so much that he was dreaded for the virulence of his tongue and feared as a detractor (*thallāb*)." Farther on, he says : "I wrote down two Traditions under his dictation, and no more ; I also committed to paper some pieces of verse composed by him and which he recited to me." The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (*No. 43*) speaks, in these terms, of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Faḍl, the father of Ibn al-Qāṭṭān : "He belonged to a family of traditionists. I asked him the date of his birth and he told me that he was born on the eve of Friday, the 14th of Rajab, 418 (20th August, A.C. 1027)." According to Abū Ghālib Shujā' Ibn Fāris al-Dhuhlī, he died on Wednesday, the 23rd of the latter Rabī' 498 (12th January, A.C. 1105), and was buried in the cemetery called *al-Karkhī*. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī (*No. 678*) speaks of him *(Ibn al-Qaṭṭān)* in the *Kharīdah*. "His wit," says this writer, and the graces of his style were universally acknowledged. There exists a *dīwān* of his poetry, the greater part of which is good. In his verses, he bantered a number of eminent men and exposed their faults. No one escaped from his attacks, neither the khalif, at Baghdād, nor any other person. A learned doctor spoke to me of him in these terms : I was a boy and too young to learn any thing from his lips, but I saw him sitting in a place apart from others.

He was then a druggist at Baghdād, and I heard people say: 'That is Ibn al-Faḍl, the satirist.' He learned Traditions from his own father and some other teachers, amongst whom were Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bāqilānī, Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Jīrūn al-Amīn, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Bighālī al-Karkhī. He had frequent skirmishes with Ḥayṣ Bayṣ, one of which is thus related : Ḥayṣ Bayṣ went out, one night, from the palace of the wazīr Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan (read *al-Qāsim*) 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī (*No. 741, note*) and a young dog barked at him. As he had a sword suspended from his shoulder, he struck it with the point[1] of the blade and killed it. Ibn al-Faḍl (*Ibn al-Qaṭṭān*) being told of this, drew up a piece of verse in which he inserted two lines composed by an 'Arab of the desert, who, being informed that his son had been slain by his (*the 'Arab's*) brother, went to take vengeance of the murderer, but then threw away his sword and uttered the verses of which we speak." They are to be found in the first section of the *Ḥamāsah*[2]. "Ibn al-Faḍl inscribed his poem on a piece of paper which he then tied to the neck of a bitch having a number of puppies, and charged a man to drive her and young ones up to the wazīr's door. She appeared there like a suppliant ; the paper was taken off her neck and presented to the wazīr, who found in it these lines :

"People of Baghdād ! Know that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ has done a deed which now covers him with shame, throughout the town. It was he, the coward, who, to shew off his bravery, assailed a young whelp which had neither strength to attack nor force to resist. He has no money, so he cannot pay the price of blood ; he is not equal in value to his victim, so he cannot suffice to undergo the law of retaliation. Therefore (I,) *curly hair*, recited these lines, after referring the vengeance of *little-gray's* blood to Him Who is the sole, the eternal. Then, to give my heart relief and consolation, I said : *One of my hands struck me without intending it ; each of them could supply the place of the other : one is truly my brother when I call him by his name ; the other is my son.*"

1 Literally : which the heel.

2 See Freytag's *Ḥamāsah*, page 100.

The idea expressed in the third verse (*beginning with* : *He has no money*) is borrowed from this verse of another poet :

"They are a people who esteem themselves so vilely, that, when one of their party commits a crime, they think that, by the law of retaliation (*not one of them but*) all must suffer the penalty of death."

This is one of the verses given in the *Ḥamāsah*[1] it will be found in the quire which begins by the words لقى بشار[2], and to that work we refer the reader. The insertion (*of the two verses*) is cleverly done ; I never heard any thing so good. notwithstanding the great number of pieces into which poets have introduced verses composed by others. The only exception I shall make concerns a piece which was recited to me by the *shaykh* Muhadh-dhab al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad, better known by the surname of Ibn al-Khaymī ; the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī (*No. 233*). He informed me that, when he was at Damascus, the sulṭān ordered the beard of a person in his service to be shaved off before the eye of the public. A part of it was already retrenched when some one interceded for the man and obtained for him the permission to retain the rest. He (*Ibn Khaymī*) composed on this subject the following piece, in which he designated the person indirectly, without mentioning his name :

"I went to visit a son of Adam who, as I was informed, had all his beard shaved off, after receiving a bastinade. Finding that only the half had been removed I congratulated him on his being allowed to retain the rest. He rose up, half-choked with weeping and recited to me two verses which had not been composed in (*a spirit of*) lying and falsity : *When a band of fellows come to shave off your beard, throw away your clothes so that they may not impede your flight.* When (friends) *come to you, saying* : *'You have still the half ;' answer : 'The best of the halves is that which is gone !'* "

The two last verses are given in that section of the *Ḥamāsah* which contains the satires on women[3] but (*Ibn al-Khaymī*)

1 See *Ḥamāsah*, page 121.

2 Here, the author, by a singular inadvertance, refers to a page or a quire of his own manuscript.

3 See *Ḥamāsah*, page 817.

altered the first of them ; in its original form it ran thus :

"Marry not an old woman, though they bring her to you; but throw off your clothes so that they may not impede your flight."

(*One year*), in the month of Ramaḍān, the poet Ḥayṣ Bayṣ and Ibn al-Faḍl were at a grand supper given by the wazīr. Ibn al-Faḍl took up a roasted *qaṭāh*[1] and offered it to his companion, who immediately turned towards the wazīr and exclaimed: "My lord ! this man has insulted me." "How so?" said the wazīr. "Because he has made an allusion to the (*well-known*) verse :

'(*The tribe of*) Tamīm follows the path of vileness, and therein is better directed than the *qaṭā (towards its nest)*. If they trod in the path of honour, they would surely go astray.' "

We have already observed (*No. 241*), that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ belonged to the tribe of Tamīm. This verse is taken from a piece composed by al-Ṭirimmāḥ Ibn Ḥakīm, the poet[2]; and is followed by these lines :

"Night is dispelled by day, but the ignominy of Tamīm will never be dispelled. If they saw a flea riding on a louse and galloping down to charge their line of battle, they would turn their backs (*and run away*)."

Ibn al-Faḍl entered, one day, into the palace of the wazīr al-Zaynabī and, finding Ḥayṣ Bayṣ with him, he said : "I have just composed two verses which could not possibly by augmented by a third, so completely do they indicate the idea I meant to express." "Let us hear them," said the wazīr. The poet recited as follows :

"An image came (*in a dream*) to visit (*me*) which was as sparing (*of visits*) as she who sent it (*was sparing of her favours*); neither did it embrace me nor kiss me, so as to alleviate my pain. Its visits are only to aid me in abstaining from sleep, for it drives it away and then departs."

---

1 A species of grouse.

2 This poet lived in the first century of Islāmism.

The wazīr turned towards Ḥayṣ Bayṣ and said : "What think you of that pretention ?" and received this answer : "Let the author repeat them, and the wazīr shall hear the third verse." Ibn al-Faḍl recited the verses again by the wazīr's order ; Ḥayṣ Bayṣ remained silent for a moment and then came out with this line :

"(*The beloved*) knew not that I employed sleep as a snare to catch (*a sight of*) her image, when I found that all other snares (*remained without effect and*) fatigued my waking hours."

The wazīr acknowledged that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ had well fulfilled his promise. I was told that a modern [poet (?)] whom I cannot now designate, being unable to discover who he was, took this very idea and versified it remarkably well ; he expressed it thus :

"You who (*by your beauty*) render jealous the sun and the moon ! (*tell me*) who will console the enslaved lover whom you treated so cruelly, whilst you said that (*not you, but*) fate alone was to be blamed. I declare by the vitality of my love, that, if I sleep, it is not because I have forgotten you, but for the purpose of catching (*a glimpse of*) your image (*in my dreams*). Regret not the visits which your image made me whilst I slumberrd ; it was really as coy (*and as disdainful*) as yourself."

I have since discovered that the author of this piece was Abu 'l-'Alā Ibn Abi 'l-Nadā al-Ma'rūf. When he (*Ibn al-Faḍl*) directed against the *qādi 'l-Quḍāt* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Zaynabī that satirical poem of which we have spoken in the life of Ibn al-Sawādī (*No. 485*) and which we should give here, were it not so long, the *qāḍī* ordered one of his servants to bring the poet before him, and, when he was led in, he boxed his ears and sent him to prison. The poet remained in confinement so long that he wrote to Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāḥib, the Khalif's major-domo, a letter containing the following verses :

"Majd al-Diu ! I ask for shelter under your protection and complain to you of such ill treatment as I am unable to support. Some people have brought against me an absurd accusation and transmitted it to the worshipful *qāḍī*. A brutal prosecutor dragged me by the sleeve and by the collar before the seat of

justice. Every stroke of the (*qāḍī's*) slipper made me bend my head, till my heart was ready to faint away. Even before the accuser had produced his proofs, I received such slaps on the face as prevented me from knowing where I was. Suppose that false accusation to be true, and tell me, master ! if the prisoner should remain in confinement after having paid the full penalty of his fault ?"

When he got out of prison, ho composed these lines :

"He who struck me on the face thought he dishonoured me and did me harm ; but his prison has not altered my sentiments, neither have his buffets injured[1] my ears."

Some verses rhyming in *m* and directed against Ḥayṣ Bayṣ have been already given in his life with the answer to them. When al-Zaynabī, he of whom we have spoken, was raised to the wazīrate, Ibn al-Faḍl went to see him and entered into the hall of audience, which was crowded with men of high rank who had come to congratulate the wazīr on his nomination. Having gone up to him, he wished him every happiness and, to show his joy and delight, he began to dance about. The wazīr, on seeing this, said to one of his confidants : "God confound that old fellow ! his dancing reminds me of the common proverb : *Skip for the ape when the time of his* (prosperity) *is arrived.* 'The poet himself put this idea into verse and transmitted to one of the grandees a written copy of the piece[2].* He composed also a *qasidah* rhyming

1 Literally : softened.

2 Here Ibn Khallikān inserts the piece. It contains eleven verses, some of which offer expressions and allusions belonging, apparently, to the corrupt popular dialect of Baghdād. The third of these verses is incorrectly given in the manuscripts and the two printed editions, so that its meaning is not evident. The other verses, taken separately. are sufficiently intelligible, but when they are all taken together, the general thought which should pervade the piece cannot be perceived. I therefore do not attempt translating them.

* [The translation of the portion omitted by de Slane is given here :

'O Kamāl al-Dīn ! he who is a dignified person,

A chief who will redeem me of sins which can fill a whole world.

Take my words which is an information soon to be known.

(*Continued on page 79*)

in r, in which he defamed, one way or other, a great number of the grandees. In this poem he said :

"Tikrīt is out of our reach and, in our ignorance, we go to take Tirmidh from Sinjar[1]".

The same poem contained the well-known verse :

"Genealogies traced up to al-'Abbās are now so frail (*and so ill-supported*) that they may by compared to pot-herbs."

A literary man of my friends recited to me the following verses as having been composed by Ibn al-Faḍl :

"His generosity put an end to the war between me and Fortune ; for one verse of eulogium, he bestowed on me gifts enough to fill my house."

He went, one day, to the house of the wazīr Ibn Hubayrah,[2] and found with him the syndic of the *sharīfs*, who was generally looked on as a great miser. This was in Ramaḍān, (*the month of fasting*), and the weather was very hot. The wazīr said to him : "Where have you been ?" He replied : "In the kitchen of his

---

(Continued from page 78)

Whenever I said that 'My people belonged to Baghdād, they pretended to belong to Emessa'.

There is nothing except the curtain which is lifted, and the door is plastered.
The covers over their head are the hawks.
The windows, belvederes and horses dance.
I am a monkey and wag my tail before a dog.
I dance before every one whom time applauds.
Trial, from which there is relief, is of no avail to Dhu 'l-Nūn.
When I hear the call, it brings me relief."
Some one else has recited the following :
"When you notice a mean person attaining high position by luck,
Listen to him, obey and respect him because of his position.
We have heard that one day Kisrā (the emperor of Persia) said to his interpreter :
When time makes a beast rule, then dance to the tune of monkey in his time."—Ed.]

1 The allusion to these cities I cannot understand.

2 The life of Ibn Hubayrah will be found in this work.

worship the *sharīf*." "Wretch that you are !" exclaimed the wazīr, "what were you doing in a kitchen, now that we are in the month of Ramaḍān ?" He answered : "By the life of your Lordship ! I was *breaking the heat*." The wazīr smiled, all the persons present laughed out and the syndic remained quite confounded. The expression *to break the heat in such a place* is particular to the people of that city (*Baghdād*) and signifies *to choose* a cool place *for taking one's afternoon nap*. Another day, he went to the dwelling of a great man and, being refused admittance, was much offended. He then saw servants bring out meat and give it to their master's hounds, on which he observed that his lordship wished not to incur to common imprecation *God's curse on the tree which shelters not its own people.* Another day, as he was sitting down to dinner with his wife, he told her to uncover her head. When she did so, he repeated these words of the *Qur'ān* : *Say, God is one.* She asked him what was the matter and received this answer ; "When a woman uncovers her head, the angels do not remain present and, when that verse of the *Qur'ān* is pronounced, the demons take to flight. Now, I do not like being at table with a crowd (*zaḥmah*) about me". The anecdotes told of him are very numerous, He was born in the year 477 (A.C. 1084-5), but al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 37*l*) says as follows : "I asked him the date of his birth aud he replied that he was born on the morning of Friday, the 7th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 478 (26th march, A.C. 1086)." He died at Baghdād, on Saturday, the 28th of Ramaḍān, 558 (30th August, A.C. 1163) and was buried in the cemetery called* al-Karkhī. According to al-Sam'ānī, he died on the festival day of the breaking of the Fast, (*the 1st Shawwāl/2nd September*). Did I not prefer being concise, I should relate a great number of the laughable ancedotes which are told of him, for, in the chapter (*of jokes and pleasantry*), he held a noted place. One of the verses above mentioned and which rhyme in *d*, contains the word بوا (*bawā*), which signifies *the equivalent.* Thus, they say : "The blood of this man shall be equivalent of (*i.e. shall answer for*) the blood of that man." The word جعدة (*Ja'dah*), which (*signifies* curly-haired *and which*) occurs in the same piece,

* Ma'ruf should be substituted for called.—Ed,

is the proper name of a bitch ; so I was informed, but I have found nothing of the kind in philological works. Persons versed in philology say only this of it : *Ābū Ja'dah (the father of Ja'dah)* is a name given to the wolf : *Ja'dah* serves to designate the sheep. The wolf was so called because he likes sheep so much."

744 AL-QĀḌĪ AL-SA'ĪD IBN SANĀ AL-MULK

Al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd (*the fortunate qāḍī*) Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, the son of al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd (*the well directed qāḍī*) Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far, the son of al-Mu'tamid Sanā al-Mulk (*the lustre of the empire*) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of Hibat Allāh, the son of Muḥammad al-Sa'dī, was a celebrated Egyptian poet and the author of that *dīwān* which contains such elegant pieces of verse and such exquisite morsels of poetry. He was one of those men high in office who obtained general notice by their merit and their talent. He learned Traditions from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Tāhir al-Silafī (*No. 43*). To the eminent rank and the ease which he enjoyed were joined the abundant favours of fortune and an ample share of wordly prosperity. The *book of Animals*, composed by al-Jāḥiẓ (*No. 481*) was abridged by him and published under the quaint title of *Rūh al-Ḥaywān* (*the spirit of animals*). He left also a *diwān* (*filled with poems of that species which goes under the name*) of *al-muwashshaḥāt* (*roundelays*), and entitled *Dār al-Ṭirāz* (*the house or store of embroidery*), and another consisting of extracts from the epistolary correspondence which passed between him and al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil (*No 349*) and containing elegant ideas of all sorts. Some of the great poets of that age formed a society at Old Cairo and held sittings during which they conversed and discoursed in a manner which was highly pleasing to hear. Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn 'Unayn (*No. 658*) having then visited Cairo, was received by them with great honour and invited to their parties. As they all agreed in leading a pleasant life, they exclaimed, on learning his arrival: "Here is the poet of Syria ! " and, on that occasion, they held

assemblies during which their discourses were taken down in writing. Were I not apprehensive of being led away too far, I should give some of them here. A *qasīdah*, composed by him (*al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd*) in honour of al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil, contains two elegant verses which I give here:

"Were the jeweller to see the pearls of her mouth, he would take them for gems of the rarest kind. If any one say that her figure is like a willo-wand, tell him to take care lest her figure should overhear your words (*and chastise you*)."

Here is another piece of his:

"No branch can represent the slightness of thy figure; no gazelle (*is so graceful as thee*). Let others unite in their form every charm; their beauty is surpassed by thine. O thou whose smiling lips always display to us a row of beads, each of them a real pearl! my censurer asked me if I had no ears (*for good advice*) and I asked him if he had no eyes (*to see thee*)."

The following amorous ditty was composed by him on a blind girl:

"My sun (*is in her face*;) it was never hidden but by her hair and has never suffered an eclipse but in its eyes. The sword (*of her glances*) is sheathed, but she wounds without it by means of her eyelids. In looking on her, I see a (*blind*) mole in (*the body of*) a gazelle, and the eyes of (*the blind*) Jacob in (*the head of the handsome*) Joseph."

The verses which follow were composed by him on a lad who had been whipped and then sent to prison:

"I should give my life to redeem him who was scourged, not for being in fault but for the purpose of making that slender branch open its rose-buds[1]. They put him into prison only to save his beauty from the stroke of the evil eye, and they said to him: 'You resemble Joseph in beauty; resemble him again by entering into prison'".

---

1 That seems to mean: making his body red.

The next verses are taken from another of his pieces ;

"I ceased to love her, not through lassitude, but for a motive which forced me to say: I leave you. She wished a third to be associated in our intimacy, but in my heart is still that article of belief which forbids me (*the sin of*) association[1]"

By the same :

"O thou whose neck is bared of every ornament except its beauty! on thy account I bared my heart (*of every sentiment*) except affliction (*for thy cruelty*). On the thread of my eyelids are strung the pearls of my tears ; wilt thou have for thy neck a collar which will cost thee nothing ? Fear me not! for I am as feeble and as languid as the zephyr ; and the zephyr need not be feared by the willow-branch (*of thy figure*)."

The idea expressed in this last verse is borrowed from the following line composed by Ibn Qalāqis and already given in his biographical notice (*No. 735*) :

"As long as I courted her, (*she*) that pliant branch in a garden, enfeebled my body, so that I am become the zephyr".

As a specimen of his style in prose we may cite a passage of a letter written by him, it is said, to al-Qāḍi 'l-Fādil, relatively to the Nile which, in that year, had not attained its usual height and did not produce an inundation. Here is the passage: "As for the water (*of the Nile*), the places where it might draw from are gone dry ; its fingers are cut off (*the digits of the nilometer are useless*) ; the pillar (*in that edifice*) must make its ablution with dust, if it intend to offer up a prayer for rain, and the scale is so feeble (*and thirsty*) that it thinks it has got the dropsy". This is one of the finest turns of expression which were ever employed to indicate the Nile's inability (*to overflow its banks*). There was in Old Cairo a poet called Abū Makārim Hibat Allāh Ibn Wazīr Ibn Muqallad, the *kātib*. Al-Qāḍi 'l-Sa'īd, being informed that a satire had been composed on him by this person, had him brought

1 In Muslim theology, *association* signifies admitting the doctrine of polytheism or that of the trinity.

into his presence and, after inflicting on him a corporal chastisement, addressed him in abusive language. A weel-known poet, named Nashū al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Mufarraj and surnamed Ibn al-Munajjim al-Ma'arrī* (*whose family belonged to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, but*) who was born and who died in Egypt, was induced by this circumstance to indite the following lines and send them to the *qāḍī* :

"Say to al-Sa'īd, whose prosperity may God maintain! Why did you treat so unjustly our worthy friend, Ibn Wazīr? You avenged yourself sufficiently by striking him on the face; why then did you insult him after? In doing so, you returned insult for insult, but you paid him moreover, with blows for interest; yet the law does not allow usury. If you say that your insults did him no hurt; then, by Allāh! your blows did not hurt him either".

Al-Qāḍi 'l-Sa'īd composed a *qaṣīduh* in praise of Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh (*No. 124*) the brother of the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Saladin*) and began it thus:

"I am indifferent for none except for my turbaned friend[1]; I have renounced nothing except a blameworthy life".

When this piece appeared, a number of the Cairo poets leagued against him and having declared that such a manner of opening a poem was detestable, they attacked him in satires. On this occasion, Ibn al-Dharawī (*or al-Darawī*)†, the same person of whom we have spoken in the life of Sayf al-Dawlah al-Mubārak Ibn Munqidh (*No. 527*), wrote to him the following lines:

"Relate to al-Sa'īd these words of one who admires his productions so full of chārms: 'How admirable is your clever and perspicuous poem! yet our poets cannot taste its novelties. They blame the idea of being indifferent for a friend; yet, if al-Ṭā'ī

---

1 I suppose that, by these words, the poet designated his mistress.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Maghribī (the western) belonging to western part of Africa.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: The latter.—Ed.

(*No. 143*) saw such a tissue of verses as yours, he would become (*your ardent*) partisan' ".

Numerous anecdotes are told of this *qāḍī*. He died at Cairo, on one of the first ten days of the month of Ramaḍān 608 (between the 6th and the 16th of February, A.C. 1212). The *Kātib* (*'Imād al-Dīn* (*see No. 678*) speaks of him in the *Kharīdah* and says: "On the 18th of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, in the year 70,—"that is, in the year 570,"—(10th June, A.C. 1175), I was with al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil in his tent at Marj al-Dalhamiyah,[1] when he showed me a *qaṣīdah* which al-Sa'īd had sent to him from Cairo, and he informed me that the author had not yet attained his twentieth year. I was much struck with the elegance of its versification". He (*'Imād al-Dīn*) then gives the poem; it begins thus:

"Separation *(from thee)* has condemned my heart to be the constant companion of sorrow; thy departure has effected a firm accord between my eyes and tears".

If we admit the above mentioned indication, al-Qāḍi 'l-Sa'īd was born towards the year 550 (A.C. 1115-6). 'Imād al-Dīn then says, after inserting the *qaṣīdah*. "He"—meaning al-Sa'īd—"came to Syria in the month of Ramaḍān, 571, being then in the service of al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil; and I found him to be a marvel for intelligence. He has reached the goal in the career of prose and of verse; the exquisite (*genius*) of the Arabic language has delivered to him a standard with its right hand, and he obtained from the affability of al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil a most favourable reception. The clay of his intelligence has been moulded by nature on (*the wheel of*) sagacity, and I have every hope that his rank in the (literary) art will be exalted highly; that, if his days be prolonged, he will obtain knowledge enough to satisfy his utmost wishes, and that, when his merit will be disengaged from (*the admixture of*) puerility, reflection will, with him, be watered by the fountain of knowledge, so that it may render abundant fruits and produce for him collars such as all

1 The sulṭān Salāḥ al-Dīn invaded Syria, A.H. 570, took Damascus and other cities and blockaded Aleppo. The Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil accompanied him. The place called Marj al-Dalhamiyah was probably in the neighbourhood of Aleppo.

would wish to possess". I may here add that Ja'far, the father of al-Qāḍi 'l-Sa'īd, died towards the middle of Ramaḍān, 580 (December, A.C. 1184). I have since found in the handwriting of a friend who took interest in these matters that his death occurred on Tuesday, the 5th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 592 (30th Oct., A.C. 1196), and that he was born towards the middle of Shawwāl, 525 (Sept., A.C. 1131). The poet and *kātib* Abu 'l-Makārim Hibat Allāh Ibn Wazīr Ibn Muqallad, he whose name occurs in this article, is spoken of by 'Imād al-Dīn, who says, in his *Kharīdah*: "I went to Old Cairo in the year 576* (A.C. 1180-1) and having enquired after him, was told that he was dead."

745 HIBAT ALLĀH AL-BŪṢĪRĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim, surnamed also Abu 'l-Karam Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Thābit Ibn Hāshim Ibn Ghālib Ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī al-Khazraji, came of a family which inhabited al-Munastīr, but was born in Egypt and there he resided. *Al-Būṣīrī* is the appellation by which he is generally known.[1] This *kātib* was well versed in (*Arabic*) literature; he knew also by heart a number of pieces which had been transmitted down from the ancients and taught some Traditions known only to himself. He thus formed an intermediate link in the chain by which the doctors who came after him were connected with those of ancient times, and, in the latter part

1 The author of the *Burdah*, a celebrated poem in praise of Muḥammad, bore also the surname of *al-Būṣīrī*. His name and surname were Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ḥammād al-Ṣanhājī al-Dulasī al-Būṣīrī. He was a native of Egypt, born, A.H. 608 (A.C. 1211), in one of the dependancies of al-Bahnasā. According to Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, in the 5th volume of the *al-Minhal al-Ṣāfī*, ms. of the *Bib. Imp.* ancien fonds, no. 751, fol. 128 *et seq.*, he died, A.H. 696 or 697, or, according to Ḥājjī Khalīfah, in the year 694 (1294-5). He descended from the Barbar tribe of Ṣanhājah and belonged probably, to the Ḥammād family which reigned over a part of North Africa from A.H. 308 (A.C. 1008) to A.H. 547 (A.H. 1152-3). The *Minhal al-Ṣāfī* gives some account of this poet.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives 596 (A.C. 1199-1200).—Ed.

of his life, he held (*as a traditionist*) a rank in which he had no equal. The system of *Qur'ān reading* followed by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (*No. 43*) and Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥātim al-Asadī was taught to him by Abū Ṣadiq Murshid Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qāsim al-Madīnī (*a native of Madīnah and*) *imām* of the Jā'mi' al-'Atīq (*the ancient mosque* in Old Cairo. Al-Būṣīrī was the last person who ever taught Traditions received orally from the above mentioned Abū Ṣādiq, from Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Umar, the *Qur'ān reader* of Moṣul and from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Barakāt Ibn Hilāl al-Sa'īdī, the grammarian. He delivered also some Traditions on the authority of Abū 'l-Fatḥ Sulṭān Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Musallam al-Maqdisī, and was the last survivor of all those who taught Traditions which they had learned from the lips of that doctor. People came from (*distant*) countries to hear him, and obtained from him a great quantity of information. His grandfather, Mas'ūd, had removed from al-Munastīr to Būṣīr, where he took up his residence, but, when his great abilities became known to the Egyptian government, he was called down to Old Cairo and appointed to draw up the official papers in the Correspondence office. His son 'Alī, the father of Abu 'l-Qāsim who is the subject of this article, was born in Old Cairo, in which city the family resided and had got into notice. Abu 'l-Qāsim bore the surname of Sayyid al-Ahl (*the chief of the family*), but he is better known as Hibat Allāh. He was born in Old Cairo, A.H. 506 (A.C. 1112-3), or, according to another statement, on Thursday, the 5th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 500 (28th June, A.C. 1107). He died in that city on the eve of the 2nd of Ṣafar, 598 (1st Nov., A.C. 1201) and was buried at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam. Yāqut al-Ḥamawī[1] says, in his dictionary of places bearing similar names, that he died in the month of Shawwāl. *Khazraji* means *descended from al-Khazraj*, the brother of *al-Aws*. These two were the sons of Ḥārithah Ibn Thalabah Ibn 'Amr Muzayqiyā Ibn 'Āmir Mā al-Samā. The remainder of this genealogical list is well known. Their mother's name was Qaylah قيلة. It was among the descendants of these two that the Prophet found at Madīnah his *Anṣār* (or first *assistants*). *Al-Munastīr*, a town in Ifriqiyah (*the*

1 The life of Yāqūt is given in this work.

kingdom of Tunis) was founded by Harthamah Ibn A'yan al-Hāshimī[1], in the year 180 (A.C. 796-7). He had been appointed governor of that province by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and he arrived there on Thursday, the 3rd of the latter Rabī' 179 (26th June, A.C. 795). In the life of the amīr Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs (*No. 123*), referenee is made to the present article. *Būṣīr* (بوصير), called also *Būṣīr Qūrīdus*, which last name is written either with a *k* (ک) or a *q* (ق), is a town in the province of al-Bahnasā, which is one of the countries included in the Ṣa'īd (*Upper Egypt*). In the life of the *kātib* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (*No. 380*), we have spoken of another Būṣīr situated in the province of al-Fayyūm. There is also a village near al-Jīzah which is called Būṣīr al-Sidr, and another in the canton of al-Samannūdiyah. We have thus four places of the same name and all of them situated in Egypt. *Al-Munastīr* lies between al-Mahdiyah and Sūsah. It is a place of devotion to which pious men retire when they abandon the world for the service of God. It contains a number of castles resembling convents, all of which are surrounded by one wall[2]. These indications are taken from the work of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.

746 HIBAT ALLĀH IBN AL-TALMIDH

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh Ibn Abī Ghanā'im* Ṣā'id Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Talmidh and the title of Amīn al-Dawlah (*the trusty* servant *of the empire*), a Christian physician and was a native of Baghdād. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*) designates him, in the *Kharīdah*, as the sulṭān of doctors, and praises him in the highest terms.

1 See Ibn Khaldūn's History of the Berbers, vol. I, page 394 of the translation.

2 It is, or was, a Muslim ribāṭ, on a very extensive scale.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd inserts Ibn al-Talmīdh al-Ṭabīb between Ghanā'im and Sa'īd.—Ed.

science of medicine, he was for the whole world the point to which they had recourse ; he was the Hippocrates of the age, the Galen of the epoch ; his talents carried the medical science to the acme of perfection, none of the ancient doctors having reached the height to which he attained. His life was long and his days prosperous. When I saw him, he was an old man of a pleasing aspect, and the sweetness (*of character*) indicated by his looks was, on trial, found to be real. His mind was quick, his body graceful, his sentiments exalted, his thoughts aspiring, his sagacity felicitous and his judgememt solid. He was the *elder* of the Christians, their priest, their head and their chief. His verses shine by their charming style, by the sweetness of the fruits gathered from them and by the admirable abundance (*of their thoughts*). Here is one of his pieces containing an enigmatical description of a balance :

'Tell me what is the thing which hears various names and gives a just measure for things on earth and for the heavens. It decides with equity and never uses deception. Though blind, it sets the spectator in the right ; it is dumb, but not from an accident or a malady, it announces by a sign its decisions, and answers, by rising and falling, the appeal of him who is in doubt. When suspended in air, it returns a clear reply' ".

One of the *various names* to which the author alludes is *the balance of the sun*, by which is meant *the astrolabe* and other astronomical instruments, and which is also indicated by the words *giving a just* measure *for the heavens ;* the other names are the *balance of discourse*, that is to say, *grammar*, the *balance of poetry*, which means *prosody* and the *balance of ideas*, or *logic*. These are the things that are designated by the names of *balance, measure, cubit* and other terms besides. 'Imād al-Dīn then gives a number of passages taken from this author's poems, and some of them we shall notice. The article in which he speaks of the Christian physician Mu'tamid al-Mulk Abu 'l-Faraj Yaḥyā Ibn al-Talmīdh[1], contains these words: "When Abu 'l-Faraj died, he

1 This doctor practised in Baghdād, with great reputation, towards the close of the fifth century of the Hijrah. This century ended A.H. 1106.

was replaced by his sister's son," the person of whom we are treating,—"who, for that reason, became known by the surname of his predecessor." He (*Imād al-Dīn*) says, in the work entitled *Anmūdhaj al-A'yān min shu'arā al-Zamān, etc., List af those eminent contemporary poets whom I have known or heard of*) "Ibn al-Talmīdh was versed in many sciences ; he possessed a solid judgement and a powerful intellect. For a long time, he was in the service of the khalifs and the kings ; his conversation was more brilliant than molten gold or strings of pearls. I met with him at different times, towards the close of his life, and marvelled greatly that he, with his excellent judgement and extraordinary intelligence, should let himself be deprived of (*the blessings of*) Islāmism; but God, in His bounty, directeth whom He pleaseth and, through His resolve, He leadeth astray whom He pleaseth. In his epistolary compositions, his style was copious and exalted ; by his verses, he placed himself among the great masters in poetry and took the place of honour". He then gives some passages from his poems. Abu 'l-Ma'āli 'l-Ḥaẓīrī* (*No. 242*) mentions him in the *Zinat al-Dahr* and gives some of his pieces, such as the following :

"O thou who hast launched against me, from the bow of departure, the arrow of separation (*whose wounds are so*) difficult to cure ! pardon the absence of him who is far from thee ; that absence is a fault which bears in itself it punishment."

'Imād al-Dīn cites the last of these verses in the *kharīdah*, as being the production of Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥakīnā[1], and joins to it another which I here give :

"If he suffered no other punishment than thy departure from him, that alone would be sufficient."

Al-Ḥazīrī attributes to him the following lines :

"I complained because thy image did not visit (*my slumbers*), and yet I was prevented from sleeping by my love *(for thee)*. It at length paid me a visit of kindness and complained of my

1 This is the same poet whose name is written *Jākīnā, No. 76n. and No. 510.* I am inclined to think that Ḥakīnā is the right name. See *No.* 742, note.'Abd al-Ḥamīd perfers Jakīnā.—Ed.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives al-Khaṭīrī.—Ed.

(*not sleeping to receive it*). Thus was fulfilled the proverb. *Dreams go by contraries.*"

'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharidah*, amongst other things: Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Muṭṭalib told me that Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Talmīdh recited to him the following lines, declaring them to be of his own composing :

"The happy days of my youth were a (*prolonged*) intoxication ; but I then recovered and commenced to act as a virtuous man. I stopped to await (*the hour of*) death, like the traveller who, knowing the place (*to which he is going*), stops to pass the night at a distance from the (*regular*) halting-place."

The second of these verses is given by Ibn al-Munajjim[1] in the *Kitāb al-Bārī'*, where it is attributed to Muslim Ibn al-Walīd (*No. 10n.*). Ibn al-Talmīdh must have therefore borrowed and inserted it among his own. Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥakinā having fallen ill, was treated by Ibn al-Talmīdh ; on recovering he gave him some money and composed these lines :

Being, unwell, I went to be treated by him ; for maladies must be cured. He tended me and consoled me, till I was able to thank him as every man would do when delivered from his cares ; and I said : 'Since this doctor has treated me kindly and cured me, let theriac[2] be administered to him'."

He composed on the same person another piece expressing the same idea and which I give here :

"He was kind to his patient and saved him from death ; yet (*the sick man*) was so ill that they were on the point of swathing his legs together, (*for burial*)[3]. The person who keeps death away from another, merits to share in that man's wealth."

He, one time, requested the same doctor to cross the Tigris for the purpose of treating him, and, in this written application, he said :

---

1 His life will be found in No. 747.

2 Various readings : ازياج, زرياج, ذرياج. These words appear to be alterations of ترياق.

3 This translation is merely conjectural.

"Imra al-Qays, when enamoured with her who rode in the palanquine was cured by an *'abrah* (*by shedding a flood of tears*).[1] An 'abrah (*or crossing of the river*) would do me also good."

Ibn Ḥakīnā lost his sight towards the close of his life. He had then a quarrel with Ibn al-Talmīdh and, when (*the latter*) wished to make up with him, he addressed to him this line :

"If you wish to pacify Bashshār, the son of Burd (*No. 110*), throw upon him his father (*i.e. a cloak, burd*)."

On this, Ibn al-Talmīdh sent him what he asked for and regained his friendship. Many stories are related of what passed between them. Ibn Ḥakīnā mentioned the name of Bashshār Ibn Burd in the verse because Bashshār had not the use of his sight and he, being blind also, compared himself to that poet. The expression *throw upon him such a one* is in general use with the people of Baghdād : when a man wishes to make up with his adversary and the latter refuses, they say : "Throw such a one upon him ;" that is let such a one visit the adversary and intercede with him. In the verse is a *tawriyah* one thing being said and another meant. Here follows a well-known piece of which he (*Ibn al-Talmīdh*) is said to be the author, but I have found it attributed to al-Nāṣiḥ Ibn al-Dahhān, a grammarian, of Moṣul :

"Away with[2] reasoning ! (*see you not how*) the passion of love leads to judgments (*so wild that they*) cannot be brought into the road of common sense. Thus, people say of love, which is eternal, that it is a (*transitory*) accident, yet our bodies are annihilated under its influence."

The two following verses are by the same author, but 'Imād al-Dīn, in his *Kharīdah*, attributes them to Abū 'Alī 'l-Muhandis, a native of Egypt :

"My heart shares its love between a troop of beauties, to each of whom I am fondly attached. It is thus a centre of

---

1 Imra 'l-Qays says, in the fourth verse of of his *Mu'allaqah* : "a flood of tears is my cure."

2 I read تعس with the edition of Būlāq.

which they are the circumference, and each of my desires is a radius."

By the same:

"His liberality is a physician which cures our indispositions by a kind treatment. He is like mummy for a broken bone, and theriac for the bite of a serpent."

I have since found these two verses in the *dīwān* of the poet Ibn Ḥajjāj (*No. 186*). The following lines were composed by him on his son Sa'īd :

"My love for Sa'id is an enduring substance, his love for me a transitory accident. The six dimensions of my substance are occupied by him ; but he, though enclosed therein, is inclined to leave me for another."

Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Aflaḥ, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 451*), was cured of a disease under Ibn al-Talmīdh's treatment ; and, as the latter forbade him to take any other food than that which was prescribed to him, he addressed to him the following lines, complaining of hunger :

"I am hungry ; deliver me from starvation. A piece of bread, even a small morsel, would be my deliverance. Say not to me : 'Just now ! take patience ! I cannot have patience, even for an hour. Today, my empty stomach will hearken to no remonstrance against bread.' "

Ibn al-Talmīdh, having read these verses, answered them by the following !

"It is thus that guests (*when famished*) like me complain to each other of hungar ; yet I will not give you what is hurtful, remonstrate as you may ! Try and humour your appetite with panada ; that is better than a piece of bread. Answer, I beg of you, to what I prescribe by the words : *I hear and obey*."

When Ibn Aflaḥ received these lines, he wrote back the following answer :

"I shall endeavour to follow your prescription, but I cannot say with perfect *sincerity : I hear and obey*. By Allāh ! I have struggled against hunger, but am unable to repel it. Preserve me from its consequences by delivering me from the headache, which it gives."

Ibn al-Talmīdh replied by these lines :

"In poetry my talent is feeble and my abilities limited, whilst you have a genius naturally disposed for it and are skilled in that art. As long as you cannot bear with the pains of hunger, so long you will not be delivered from your headache. Therefore, let your *Bismillāh* (*or grace before meal*) be preceded by the taking of (*food*) an hour later.[1]"

Ibn al-Talmīdh and the celebrated physician Awḥad al-Zamān (*the pearl of the age*) Abul 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh Ibn Malkān[2], the author of the philosophical treatise entitled *al-Mu'tabir* (*the worthy of notice*), looked on each other with feeling of jealousy and rivalry such as usually prevail between men who are eminent in the same profession. The anecdotes concerning the conferences and disputes are well known. Awḥad Al-Zamān was a Jew, but became a Muslim in his latter days. To cure himself of an elephantiasis, he let himself be bitten by vipers which he had kept, for some time without food ; and, after receiving a great number of bites, he was cured, but lost his sight. The history of this affair is well-known. Ibn al-Talmīdh composed on his rival the following epigram :

"Our friend, the Jew, is so filled (*fīhi*) with folly that it is manifested by his mouth (*fīhi*) every time he speaks. He talks at random (*yatīh*) ; not a dog but ranks higher than he ! one would think he had not yet got out of the Wilderness (Tīh)."

---

1 The absurdity of this recommendation and the impossibility of fulfilling it imply that the patient should not take anything. I do not see any other way of explaining the passage.

2 Awḥad al-Zamān was the khalif al-Mustanjid's physician. He composed a number of medical treatises. For a notice on this doctor see Westenfeld's Arabische Aerzte, No. 177.

Ibn al-Talmīdh was very modest, and Awḥad al-Zamān very presumptuous. This induced al-Badī' al-Asṭurlābī (*No. 742*) to compose the following lines :

"The doctor Abu 'l-Ḥasan and his imitator, Abu 'l Barakāt, stand at opposite extremes : one, by his modesty, has reached the Pleiades, and the other, by his presumption, is in the lowest abyss."

Ibn al-Talmīdh composed some good works on medicine, one of which, the Aqrābādhīn (*Antidotarium*) is a very useful treatise and serves as a practical guide to the physicians of our days. Another of his works, that which he composed on the *Kulliyāt*[1] of Ibn Sīnā (*Avicena*) bears the title of *Kunnās wa Ḥawāsh* (*compilation and glosses*)*. The master under whom he made his medical studies was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'īd Ibn Hibat Allāh[2], the author of some well-known medical works, such as the *Talkhīṣ* (*compendium*), *the Mughnī* (*sufficient*), in one volume, and the *Iqnā'* (*satisfactory*), in four volumes. Some persons found fault with these (*two last*) titles and said that they should have exchanged places, because *mughnī* signifies *what enables* to dispense with any thing and would have been an appropriate title for the larger work, whilst the term *iqna'*, signifying what furnishes *a sufficiency*, was more suitable for a compendium. All the medical and literary works (composed by Ibn al-Talmīdh) are very good. His conduct was most regular and his gravity so remarkable that, it is said, in the frequent visits made by him to the palace of the khalifs, he was never heard to utter a jest, except on one occasion. That was in the presence of the khalif al-Muqtafī (*li-amr Allāh*). Here is what passed : A pension which had been assigned to him on the glass-bottle manufactory at Baghdād was stopped without the khalif's knowledge, and, one day that he was with that prince, and intended to withdraw, he had great difficulty in getting up, by

1 *Kullīyāt* signifies *generalities* and, when employed as the title of a medical work, means *general principles of therapeutics*. Avicena and Averroes composed each of them a *Kulliyāt*. In the old Latin translations, this word is rendered or rather transcribed by *colliget*.

2 The text reads *Hibat Allāh Ibn Sa'īd* which is a fault. See Arabiche Aerzte, no. 143 and Ḥājjī Khalīfah's bibliographical Dictionary, tom. V, p. 653.

* Two books and marginal notes on the Kulliyāt in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

reason of his advanced age. On this, the khalif said: "Doctor! you are getting old": To which he replied: "It is true, my lord! my bottles are broken." This expression is employed by the people of Baghdād to indicate that a man is old. When the khalif heard these words from the doctor's lips, he said: "During all the time he has been in our service I never heard him utter a pleasantry." Enquiries being then made into the affair, led to the discovery that his pension on the bottle manufactory had been suppressed. The khalif, being informed of the circumstance, gave orders that the pension should be restored to him and granted him another besides. It had been suppressed by the Wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayrah. The anecdotes related of this doctor are very numerous. He died at Baghdād in the month of Ṣafar, 560 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 1164-5), aged nearly one hundred years. In the historical work of Ibn Zulāq* al-Fāriqī it is stated that Ibn al-Talmīdh died on Christmas day and that he was acquainted with more sciences then any other man. All those who inhabited Baghdād, either on one side (*of the river*) or on the other, went with his corpse to the church and attended the funeral; not one of them stayed away. This article contains only one name the orthography of which requires to be marked; it is Malkān, that which was borne by the grandfather of Awḥad al-Zamān. In the life of Ibn al-Jawālīqī (*No. 724*) we have related a scene which passed between bim and Ibn al-Talmīdh in the presence of the khalif al-Muqtafi. My article on Amīn al-Dawlah Ibn al-Talmīdh was finished when I met with a book in the handwriting of my professor, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Yūsuf, and drawn up by him in the form of an autobiography[1]. Towards the commencement of this work, he describes Ibn al-Talmīdh as being possessed of great learning and skill in medicine. He then says[2]: "One of his (*remarkable cures*) was this: A woman was carried to him in such a state that her

1 See de Sacy's Relation de l'Egypts, par 'Abd al-Latif, page 458.

2 Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'ah gives some long extracts from 'Abd al-Laṭīf's autobiography, but has purposely omitted what concerned Ibn al-Talmīdh. See de Sacy's 'Abd al-Latif, p. 461. I may here observe that Ibn Khallikān was about twenty-one years of age when his professor 'Abd al-Laṭīf died.

* Al-Azraq in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

family did not know whether she was living or dead. Though it was then in the depth of winter, he had her stripped and submitted to a prolonged affusion of cold water. He then ordered her to be carried into a warm room, which had been fumigated with aloes-wood and other perfumes. They covered her with a quantity of furred cloaks and, some time after, she sneezed and began to move; then she sat up and was able to go home on foot with her people. Another time, they brought to him a man who sweated blood in the summer season. He asked his pupils, who were about fifty in number, if they knew what that malady was, but none of them could tell. He ordered the patient to eat barley bread with roasted love-apples. The sick man did so for three days and recovered. The pupils asked their master what the malady was and he replied: 'The man's blood had got thin and the pores of his body were much opened; now, the virtue of this regimen is, to thicken the blood and to close the pores.' To give an idea of his disinterestedness, we may mention that the rear of his house was contiguous to the Niẓāmiyah college and, when any of the law students was taken ill, he had him brought to his house and took care of him, till he was cured and able to return." Before this, our professor, Muwaffaq al-Dīn (*'Abd al-Laṭīf*) says: "I profited greatly under the tuition of this Amīn al-Dawlah's son. He lived nearly eighty years. His great experience and his profound acquaintance with the secrets of the human constitution were such that he could discern every malady as clearly as if he saw it through a pane of glass; and he had never the least hesitation in deciding on its nature and mode of treatment. He usually prescribed simple remedies or such as were but slightly compounded; and he thought no one worthy of practising medicine but himself. He used to say: 'A prudent man should wear such clothes as may not draw upon him the envy of the lower order or the contempt of the higher.' So he wore white clothes of a fine quality." He (*'Abd al-Laṭīf*) then adds: "This (*doctor*) was strangled in the court of his house, in the first third of the night[1]; he became a Muslim before his death. I have often regretted his loss".

1 Here the text appears to be corrupt. [Probably he was misled by دهليز meaning portico for which he writes court].—Ed.

747 HĀRŪN IBN 'ALĪ 'l-MUNAJJIM

Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Abū Manṣūr al-Munajjim (*the astrologer*), was an accomplished scholar and a native of Baghdād. We have already spoken of his son 'Alī (*No. 444*). Hārūn was a ḥāfiẓ knowing by heart and able to repeat a great quantity of poems. His conversation was agreeable and his social talents highly pleasing. The *Kitāb al-Bāri'* (the *book of surpassing excellence*), a work composed by him on the *muwallad* (*or Muslim*)[1] poets, contains one hundred and sixty-one articles. It begins with a notice on Bashshār Ibn Burd al-'Uqaylī (*No. 110*), ends with an account of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ[2] and offers the finest passages composed by these poets. The author says, towards the beginning of the work; "In writing this book on the history of the *muwallad* poets, I inserted such pieces of their poetry as I myself had chosen, and, in making that selection, I proceeded with the utmost care and after the best of my knowledge. The learned say that a man's intelligence is indicated by what he chooseth, and that the faculty of choosing well proceedeth from the abundance of the understanding. Some of them also have said: A man's poetry is a part of his discourse, the opinion he professes is a part of his understanding, and his faculty of choosing is a part of his (*acquired*) knowledge." In this strain, he goes on to a considerable length and then informs us that this work was abridged from another which he had compiled on the same subject and which he reduced to its present dimensions by making suppressions. It is really a very useful work because it does away with the necessity of procuring the (*dīwān* or *collected works*) of all the poets which it mentions. The fact is that the author, in making his abridgment, retained the cream of their verses and rejected the froth. In the life of the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*), we have indicated this work as the main stem of

1 See No. 91, note.

2 In the year 190 of the Hijrah (A.C. 811-2), Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ the 'Abbasid, was named governor of Mesopotamia and Syria by the khalif al-Amīn. (*Nujūm*).

several branches, namely the *Kharīdah*, the treatise of al-Ḥazīrī (*No. 242*), that of al-Bākharzī (*No. 450*) and that of al-Tha'ālibī (*No. 365*). It was the model after which they all composed theirs. Another of Ibn al-Munajjim's works is the *Kitāb al-Nisā* (*book of women*). It contains the anecdotes related of them and the elegant passages in prose and verse of which women were the subject. I am unable to give here any of his own verses, having never met with any of them. In the *Kitāb al-Bāri'*, he inserted an article on his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā, with extracts from his poems and, immediately after, he gives notice on his brother Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī with a series of extracts. These we need not insert here, as they will be found in our article on Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī. Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim died in the year 288 (A.C. 901), at an early age. His great grandfather, Abū Manṣūr, was astrologer to the khalif Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and, in religion, a fire-worshipper. His son Yaḥyā was attached to the service of Dhu'l-Riyāsatayn al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl (*No. 504*), and his astrological indications always regulated the actions of that wazīr. After al-Faḍl's catastrophy, an event of which we have already spoken (*No. 504*), Yaḥyā became al-Māmūn's astrologer and boon companion. The pressing instances of that khalif, who had chosen him for his favourite and friend, induced him to turn Muslim, and his profession of the Muḥammadan faith, made to al-Māmūn, rendered him the *mawlā*[1] of that prince. The Munajjim family produced a number of men who rose to eminence by their abilities, their literary acquirements and their talent for poetry. All of them were admitted into the intimacy of the (*reigning*) khalifs and became their boon companions. Al-Tha'ālibī has devoted a whole section of his *Yatīmah* to the members of this family and notices a great number of them. The above mentioned Yaḥyā died at Aleppo when al-Māmūn was going on his expedition to Ṭarsūs. He was buried in the Quraysh cemetery of that city, and his tomb, with his name inscribed on it, is there still to be seen.

---

1 See vol. III, Introducion.

748 HISHĀM IBN 'URWAH

Abu 'l-Mundhir Hishām al-Asadī was the son of 'Urwah, the son of al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 391*). Hishām was one of the most distinguished Tābi'īs of Madīnah, and transmitted down a great quantity of Traditions. He ranked among the most eminent of the learned (*in the Law*) and was considered as one of the principal Tābi'īs. He belonged to the fourth generation of those who inhabited Madīnah. Traditions were taught to him orally by his uncle 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr (*the antikhalif*) and by Ibn 'Umar (*No. 243n.*). He saw Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī (*No. 394n.*), Anas Ibn Mālik (*No. 539n.*), and Sahl Ibn Sa'd[1]. According to another statement, he saw Ibn 'Umar but did not hear any Traditions from him. Traditions were taught on his authority by Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī (*No. 524n.*), Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No. 248*), Mālik Ibn Anas (*No. 524*), Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī[2], Ibn Jurayj (*No. 350*), 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar[3], al-Layth Ibn Sa'd (*No. 523*), Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynā' (*No. 255*), Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (*No. 586n.*). Wakī' (*No. 149n.*) and others. He went to Kūfah, in the reign of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and delivered Traditions to the people of that city. His birth took place A.H. 61 (A.C. 680-1). Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Dhuhlī[4] states that (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, al-Zuhrī (*No. 537*), Qatādah (*No. 516*) and al-A'mash (*No. 253*) were born on or about the day in which al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, was slain. This occured on the (*festival*) day of 'Āshūrah, A.H. 61 (10th Oct., A.C. 680). He went to visit al-Manṣūr, at Baghdād, and died there in the year 146 (A.C. 763-4), or in 145 or 147, according to other statements. The funeral service was said over

1 Sahl Ibn Sa'd al-Sā'idī. one of Muḥammad's Companions and a native of Madīnah, delivered upwards of one hundred and eighty Traditions relating to his master. He died at Madīnah, A.H. 88 (A.C. 707). Nawawī's *Tahdhīb al-Asmā*. The note No. 738 ought to be suppressed.

2 Abū Bakr Ayyūb Ibn Kīsīn al-Sikhtiyānī a native of Baṣrah and a Traditionist of good authority, died A.H. 114 (A.C. 732-3), aged seventy-three years.—(*Dhahabī's Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz.*)

3 'Ubayd Allāh, the son of the khalif 'Umar, was slain A,H. 37 (A.C. 657). at the battle of Ṣiffīn. (*Tahdhīb, Ḥuffāẓ*).

4 Ibrahīm Ibn 'Alī al-Dhuhlī died A.H. 293 (A.C. 905-6). (*Nujūm.*)

him by al-Manṣūr, and he was buried in the Khayzūrān cemetery, on the eastern side (*of the Tigris*). Some say, however, that he was interred on the western side, without the wall (*of the city*), near the gate of Quṭrubbul, beyond the ditch, and higher up than the cemetary of the Ḥarb gate. His tomb (*they say*) is still to be seen there and is well-known. It is covered with a flat stone on which is inscribed : *This is the tomb of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah.* The persons who state that he was buried on the eastern side say that the tomb on the western is that of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah al-Marwazī, a disciple of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (*No. 300*). God knows best! He left posterity at Madīnah and Baṣrah. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) relates as follows, in his History of Baghdād. "Al-Manṣūr said to him one day: 'Abu 'l-Mundhir ! do you remember when I and my brothers, the legitimate heirs to the khalīfate, went to visit you, and we found you drinking ptisan through a hollow reed? When we left you, our father said to us: 'Appreciate well the merit of this old man; he will never cease to be of your party, come what may!' Hishām replied: 'Commander of the faithful! I do not remember that.' When he withdrew, some one said to him : '(*How simple you are*) to acknowledge that you do not remember a thing which the khalif mentioned to you and which would ensure you his favour!' He answered: 'I did not recollect it, and my veraciousness cannot but obtain recompense from God.'" It is related that he went to visit al-Manṣūr and said to him: "Commander of the faithful! deliver me from my debts." Al-Manṣūr asked him how much he owed and, being told one hundred thousand (*dirhams*)[1] he exclaimed : "How could you, with all your learning in the law and all your merit, contract a debt of one hundred thousand (*dirhams*) without having the means of paying it?" He replied: "Commander of the faithful! some of my boys were grown up and, being afraid of incurring the disagreeable necessity of answering for their conduct, I constructed for them separate dwellings and made marriage feasts to get rid of them: being assured that God and the Commander of the faithful would come to my assistance." The khalif continued to repeat the words: "*One hundred thousand*![2]"

1 About two thousand pounds sterling.

2 Al-Manṣūr was notorious for his avarice.

as if he found the sum enormous, and at length said: "I shall give you ten thousand." "Commander of the faithful!" said Hishām, "give me whatever sum you can bestow with good will; I heard my father relate that our blessed Prophet said: 'When a gift is bestowed and leaves the mind satisfied, the donor and the receiver obtain equally the blessing of God'". The khalif replied: "I shall then bestow what will leave my mind satisfied." Hishām sprung forward to kiss his hand, but the other prevented him and said: "Son of 'Urwah! we esteem you so highly that we will not let you kiss it, and we esteem it, so highly that we do not allow it to be kissed by others." The anecdotes related of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah are very numerous.

749 HISHĀM IBN AL-KALBĪ

The genealogist Abu 'l-Mundhir Hishām Ibn Abi 'l-Naḍr Muḥammad, Ibn al-Sā'ib Ibn Bishr Ibn 'Amr al-Kalbī was a native of Kūfah. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 608*) and related what passed between him and the poet al-Farasdaq. Traditional information, learned from his father, was handed down by his son al-'Abbās and some others, amongst whom were Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāṭ (*No. 207*), Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd *Kātib al-Wāqidī* (*No. 619*), Muḥammad Ibn Abī Sarī al-Baghdādī[1] and Abu 'l-Ash'ath Aḥmad Ibn al-Miqdām[2]. In the science of genealogy he was the most learned of men, and his *Jamharat al-Nisab* (*or collection of genealogies*) is one of the best works ever composed on the subject. As a *ḥāfiẓ* (*No. 31*), he bore a high reputation. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) says, in his History of Baghdād, that Hishām went to that city and taught Traditions there. He states also

1 Muḥammad Ibn Abī Sarī al-Mutawakkil al-Asqalānī (*a native of Ascalon*) and designated by Ibn Khallikān as a native of Baghdād, was considered by the ablest critics in the History of the Traditions as a sure authority. He died A.H. 228 (A.H. 842-3), at Ascalon. (*Huffāẓ, Nujūm.*)

2 Aḥmad Ibn al-Miqdām, belonged to the tribe, of 'Ijl. Tbis Traditionist died A.H. 253 (A.C. 867).(*Nujūm.*)

that he said: "I have learned by heart more than any man ever did, and forgotten more than any other man. Being reproached by my uncle for not knowing the *Qur'ān* by heart, I went into a room and swore not to leave the place till I had committed that book to memory, and I accomplished the task in three days. I looked at myself, one day, in a mirror, and grasped my beard with the intention of cutting it off from below my clenched hand, and I cut it off from above it[1]". A great number of treatises were composed by him, such as the *Ḥilf (or pact)* made by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with the tribe of Khuzā'ah, the *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl (confederation made between the Faḍls)*[2], *the Ḥilf (or confederation)* formed between (*the tribes of*) Tamīm and Kalb, the *Kītāb al-Munāfarāt* (*contestations* between rivals who vaunt the glory of their respective families), the *Kitāb Buyūtāt Quraysh (on the illustrious families of the tribe of Quraysh)*, the *Kitāb Faḍā'il Qays 'Aylān (on the eminent merit of* the families descended from *Qays 'Aylān*) the *Kitāb al-Maw'ūdāt (on the girls buried alive)*[3] on the illustrious houses (*Buyūtāt*) of the tribe of Rabī'ah, the *Kitāb al-Kunā (on by-names)*, a work on the noble deeds of Quṣayyī and his descendants in the times of Ignorance and of Islāmism; the *Kitāb alqāb Quraysh (the usual surnames among the Qurayshites)*, the *Kitāb alqāb al-Yaman (the usual surnames among the Yāmanites)*, the *Kitāb al-Mathālib (book of upbraidings), the Kitāb al-Nawāfil (on gifts)*, the *Kitāb iddai'āi Ziyād Mu'āwiyah (on Ziyād's claim of relationship to Mu'āwiyah)*[4], the History of Ziyād Ibn Abīh, the *Kitāb ṣanā'ia*

1 Hishām meant to indicate by this that his sight was weakened by excessive study. It was customary with men of learning not to let their beards grow longer then the breadth of the hand.

2 The confederation of the Faḍls was formed at Makkah, A.C. 595. for the purpose of protecting strangers who came to that city. This association maintained its influence till the middle of the first century of the Hijrah. Muḥammad entered into it at the age of twenty-five years. (Essai, etc., de M.C. de Perceval, tom. I, p. 330 et suiv.)

3 Female infanticide was common with the Arabs till abolished by Muḥammad. He alludes to the practice in the *Qur'ān*. sūrah lxxxi, verse 8.

4 Ziyād, a bastard son of Abū Sufyān, was legitimated by his half-brother, the khalif Mu'āwiyah, in the forty-fourth year of the Hijrah. Till that time, he was generally called Ziyād Ibn Abīh, i.e., Ziyād, the son of his (*unknown*) father.

Quraysh (*the generous deeds of the Qurayshites*), the *Kitāb al-Mushājarāt* (*book of contestations*), *the Kitāb al-Mu'atabāt (the book of reproaches)*, the *Kitāb mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* (*on the provincial kings*)[1], the *Kitāb mulūk Kindah* (*on the kings of the tribe of Kindah*), the *Kitāb Iftirāq walad Nizār*, (*the dispersion of the posterity of Nizār*), the *Kitāb tafrīq Azd* (the dispersion of the sons of Azd, the *Kitāb Ṭasm wa Jadīs* (*on the ancient tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs*). His works are upwards of one hundred and fifty in number. The best and the most instructive is that which is generally known by the title of *al-Jamharah* (*the collection*) of genealogical information ; the like of it was never composed on the subject. He drew up a genealogical work entitled *al-Manzil* (*the station*), *which was* more extensive than the Jamharah. His *Mūjaz* (*abridgment*)[2] treats also of genealogies. The *Farīd (precious pearl)* on the same subject, was composed by him for al-Māmūn, and the *Mulūkī* (*or imperial*) another genealogical work, was drawn up by him for Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā the Barmakide. The quantity of his narrations concerning the battle-days and the history of the (*Arabian*) people is very considerable. Here is one of these pieces : The sons of Umayyah assembled at the house of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, and reproached him for the preference he gave to 'Amr Ibn 'Aṣī and for acknowledging (*as his brother*) Ziyād Ibn Abīh. Mu'āwiyah replied to them and then pushed 'Amr on to speak. In this discourse 'Amr said[3] : "I am he who pronounced these lines at the battle of Ṣiffin :

---

1 This term usually designates the successor of Alexander the Great and the Arsacides. After the fall of the Umayyid dynasty in Spain, the governors of the cities and provinces became independent and were also designated as the *kings of peoples or provincial kings.*

2 According to another reading : *al-Mu'akhkhar* (*the final*) المؤخر in place of الموجز.

3 We posses very few specimens of discourses in prose, pronounced in the first century of the Hijrah. This piece is remarkable for that reason, and is highly characteristic of its author. The grammarians and philologers of later times must have prized it as literary curiosity, for it offers a fair sample of the quaint, pretentious and rhythmical style which was so common during and before ihe time of Muḥammad. The Arabs could then express their ideas very well in verse, but were singularly awkward and affected in their prose compositions. As a prose-writer Muḥammad excelled them all.

"When other looked askance, I blinked not ; then I partially closed my eyes, but not in winking (*at the sight of danger*). You saw me return (*to the charge*) and continue to dash forward. I support (*equally well*) good and evil, and am inexorable, like the serpent at the foot of the tree."

"By Allāh ! I am neither languid nor feeble. I am the deaf snake from whose bite none can recover, and whose sting renders a man sleepless. I am one who shatters when he strikes; who cooks well whatever he heats. Let him who pleases consult (*me*) ; let him who wishes ask (*my*) advice (*he will find it good*). O ! if they saw what I witnessed on the battle-day of al-Hārīr[1]: if they faced what I faced, they would have found the outlet too narrow (*for their escape*). 'The road would have appalled them when (*'Alī*) the father of al-Ḥasan dashed down upon us, having on his right and on his left men of action and of prudence, noble companions ; there, by Allāh ! the eyes were staring, the mischief (*of war*) was exalted, and se subduxerunt colei usque ad renes.* There were drawn the lots which rendered mothers childless and made them forget what they were bearing (*in the womb*); the pupils of the eye were turnd red, the horizon was clouded with dust, the (*ocean of*) sweat came up to the mouth, blood flowed in torrents, the dust flew aloft, the brave stood firm, the cowards drew back, the voices were extinguished, the lips were foaming, and numerous were the struggles hand to neck. War was thus set on its legs ; the time of departure (*from life*) ; arrived ; the combatants struck each other with the scabbards of their swords, after using all their arrows and splintering their lances. On that day, nothing was heard but the shouts of the men and the neighing of the horses. Swords fell upon heads as the bat of washerman falls on the trestle. That lasted[2] for a day, till night came on with its darkness, and till

1 The Persian army was defeated at al-Qādisiyah after a battle which lasted three days. One of those conflicts was called *the night of growling* (*laylat al-Harīr*).

2 The true pronunciation of the word قدأب is uncertain, the diacritical points varying in the manuscripts and the printed editions. The meaning here given to it is quite conjectural.

* English : Testicles drew together to kidneys (*out of fear*).—Ed.

morning was enlightened by the dawn. Then nothing remained of the conflict but groans and cries ; for the enemy had learnd that I was the first of you all in bravery, the ablest in efforts and the steadiest in defending the standard. To me, when compared with you, may well be appllied these words of the poet :

'I shut my eyes on certain acts, and if I choose to mention them, I should leave no room for peacemaking. If the tree of my (*honour*) be of gold, should I not respect it more than to place it n competition with common weeds?' "

We still possess much of the Traditional information which came down from him. He died in the year 204 (A.C. 819-820), or, by another account, in 206. The first is most probably the correct date.

750 HISHĀM AL-ḌARIR, *THE GRAMMARIAN*

Abū 'Abd Allāh Hishām*al-Ḍarīr (*the blind)*grammarian, was a native of Kūfah and a disciple of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*), from whom he received a great quantity of grammatical information. One of his treatises on this subject is even attributed to al-Kisā'ī. He composed many grammatical works, such as the *Kitab al-Hudūd* (*on definitions)*, which is a short treatise, the *Mukhtaṣar* (*or abridgment*) and the *Kitāb al-Qiyās* (*on analogies*). Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab[1] had, one day, with (*the khalif*) al-Māmūn, a conversation in which committed a fault of grammar. Perceiving that the khalif started at him, he knew what that meant and, on retiring he went to study grammar under the tultion of Hishām. According to Abū Mālik al-Kindī, this grammarian died in the year 209 (A.C. 824-5).

1 Isḥaq Ibn Ibrahīm Ibn Muṣ'ab, a nephew of the celebrated Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn, governor of Khurāsān, was governor of Baghdad under al-Māmūn and other Khalifs. He died A.H. 235 (A.C. 849-50). (*Nujūm.*)

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : Son of Mu'āwiyah.—Ed.

751 AL-FARAZDAQ, *THE POET*

Abū Firās Hammām, or Humaym, in the diminutive form, according to Ibn Qutaybah, (*No. 306*), in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, was the son of Ghālib surnamed Abu 'l-Akhṭal, the son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, the son of Nājiyah, the son of 'Iqāl, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Sufyān, the son of Mujāshi', the son of Dārim, whose true name was Byḥr, the son of Mālik, surnamed 'Awf (*host*) for his generosity, the son of Ḥanẓalah the son of Mālik*, the son of Zayd Manāt, the son of Tamīm, the son of Murr. This celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm was generally known by the appellation of al-Farazdaq and by his fellowship with Jarīr (*No. 127*). His father, Ghālib, was one of the most eminent chiefs of the tribe. His mother, Laylā, was the daughter of Ḥābis and the sister of al-Aqra' Ibn Ḥābis[1]. He (*Ghālib*) was famous for noble acts and renowned for praise-worthy deeds. Here is an example of his generosity : The inhabitants of Kūfah were afflicted by a famine whilst he was there, and most of them retired into the country (*among the nomadic tribes*). Ghālib was the chief of one tribe and Suḥaym Ibn Wathīl al-Riyāḥī was at the head of another (*the Banū Riyāḥ*). The refugees (*of Kūfah*) assembled at a place called *Ṣaw'ar* situated in the outskirts of (*the desert of*) al-Samāwah, in the territory of (*the*) Kalb (*tribe*) and at a day's journey from Kūfah. The first syllable of *Ṣaw'ar* is to be pronounced with an *a* and the second begins with an *ā*. Ghālib slew a female camel for his people and prepared a repast with the flesh. To the persons of consequence blonging to the tribe of Tamīm he presented large dishes filled with *tharīd* (*bread steeped in broth*), but Suḥaym, to whom he sent one dish, upset it and beat him who brought it, saying : "Do I stand in need of a repast from Ghālib ? as often as he slays a female camel, I shall slay another." A contest of rivalry then ensued, and Suḥaym slew a female camel for his

1 Al-Aqra' Ibn Ḥābis, a brave cavalier of the tribe of Tamīm, was one of Muḥammad's Companions, and one of the chiefs who revolted against Abū Bakr, on Muḥammad's death. He afterwards made his submission and commanded the van of the army with which Khālid Ibn al-Walīd attached the Persian empire. (Caussin de Perceval's Essai, etc., tome III ; Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiqāq*.)

* Omitted in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

people. The next morning, Ghālib killed two, and Suḥaym killed also two for his people. The next day, each of them killed three. On the forth day, Ghālib slew one hundred, and Suḥaym, not having so many at hand, slew none and concealed in his mind (*the jealousy which he felt*). When the famine was over, the people of Kūfah returned to the city and Banū Riyāḥ said to Suḥaym : "You have brought down upon us everlasting disgrace ! Why did you not kill as many as he ? For every camel you slew, we should have given you two " He excused himself by saying that his camels were absent, and (*soon after*) he killed three hundred and said to the people : "Here is for you ; eat !" This passed in the khalifate of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and he (*'Alī*) being consulted on the lawfulness of eating that flesh, made answer : "To eat it is contrary to law, because the animals were not killed for eating but through another motive ; namely, vain glory and ostentation." So the flesh was cast into the place (*kunāsah*) where the sweepings and dirt of Kūfah were deposited, and it remaind there till eaten by dogs, eagles and vultures. The history of this occurence is well-known, as it gave rise to a number of poems. One of them was composed by Jarīr, in the form of a satire on Farazdaq and contains a verse often quoted by grammarians in their treatises, to exemplify a rule, and which we here give :

"Sons of Ḍawṭarā ! you count as your best title to glory the slaying of old camles, since you cannot (*boast of slaying warriors*) equipped in helm and mail[1]"

This idea was borrowed by al-Mahel*[2], a member of the tribe called the Banī Qaṭan Ibn Nahshal, and expressed by him in the following terms :

---

1 The grammarians, notice this verse because it offers an example of the particle *law-lā* followed immediately by a noun in the accusative. They get over the difficulty by saying that a verb is to be understood. See de Sacy's edition of the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik, page 178, and Ibn 'Aqīl's Commentary on the Alifiyah, page 230 of the Bulāq edition. The word ḍauṭara signifies *a heavy, good for nothing man.*

2 The orthography of this name is doubtful.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : al-Mujallā.—Ed.

"I was rejoiced that (*the tribe of*) Mujāshi' could put forward no other claim to honour than the slaying of old camels at Ṣaw'ār."

The Ghālib here spoken of was blind of an eye. The Ṣuḥaym above-mentioned was the son of Wathīl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Juwayn Ibn Wuhayb Ibn Ḥimayr, and the author of this (*well-known*) verse :

"I am the son of Jalā, the climber of mountains ; when I take off my turban (*and veil*), you shall know me[1]."

This verse is part of a poem[2]. The poetical works (*of Suḥaym*) have been collected and form a small (*dīwān*) ; *Wathīl* (*as a common noun*) means *a weak rope*, or, according to some, *the fibres of the date tree*[3]. Al-Farazdaq had so great a respect for the tomb of his father that, when any person invoked its protection, he would go to his assistance and help him to obtain what he wanted. As as instance of this, we shall here give an anecdote inserted by al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) in his *Kāmil* : Tamīm Ibn Zayd al-Qaynī, having been appointed to the government of Sind by al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (*No. 144*), entered into Baṣrah (*for the purpose of levying troops*), and took off with him as many of the inhabitants as he pleased. An old woman then went to al-Farazdaq and said : "I have invoked the protection of your father's tomb ; here are some of the pebbles (*which cover it*)." He asked her what she wanted and she replied : "Tamīm, the son of Zayd, has carried off my son, the sole delight of my eyes, the only one who procures me subsistence." "What is his name?" said he. She answered : "His name is Khunaysh*." He immediately wrote to Tamim the following lines and sent them off by a person who was going (*to join him*) :

---

1 This verse is cited by al-Jawharī, in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* and by Ibn Hishām in the *Mughnī 'l-Labib*. The celebrated general, al-Ḥajjaj Ibn Yūsuf, applied it to himself in his harangue to the people of Kūfah. See Dozy's *Histoire des-Musnlmans d'* Espagne, tome I, page 201.

2 The rest of this poem is given by al-Suyūṭī in his *Sharḥ Shawāhid il-Mughnī*, MS of the Bibl, Imp., no. 1238, fol. 105.

3 According to al-Suyūṭī, this name is of the diminutive form and should be pronounced *Wuthayl*.

* 'Khunays' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

"Tamīm, son of Zayd ! let not this request be neglected and let not its answer be delayed. Restore me Khunaysh ; I shall consider it as a great favour ; such is the interest I take in a (*poor*) mother who can no longer enjoy her food. She came to me, O Tamīm ! and invoked the tomb of Ghālib, that grave over which the winds sweep the dust. All people know that you are truly generous and, when the fire of war is lighted, brave as a lion."

When Tamīm received this letter, he had doubts whether the name was *Khunaysh* or *Ḥubaysh*, and gave orders to see if it was inscribed on the roll of the army. Six names were found ; some of them *Khunaysh* and the others *Ḥubaysh* ; so, he sent all those men to the poet. Al-Farazdaq and Nuṣayb[1], a well known poet, were one day in the presence-chamber of Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyid khalif, who said to the former : "Recite me something ;" expecting to hear an eulogium on himself. Al-Farazdaq pronounced the following lines in praise of his own father :

"How often (*was seen*) a band of travellers on whom the wind, (*fatigued*) with bearing along the (*heavy*) clouds, seemed to be wreaking its vengeance. In their nocturnal journey, they struggled against the blast which enveloped them, (*and tried to get*) at the water-skins attached to the saddles on which their baggage was tied[2]. When they saw the light of a fire, they would exclaim : "May it be the one (*we hope for*) ! and already, the (*hospitable*) fire of Ghālib was close at hand."

Sulaymān turned away from him, as if displeased, and Nuṣayb then said : "Commander of the faithful ! permit me to recite to you a piece in the same rhyme as that which you have heard and, perhaps, not inferior to it in merit." "Let us have it," said the khalif, and the poet recited as follows :

"I said to the caravan which I met coming from the watering-place, (*situated*) behind Dhāt Awshāl : 'May the Lord provide for you[3] ! Stop and give me news of Sulaymān ; for he (*always*) seeks

1 See note on Nu ayb that follows.

2 This translation of two very obscure verses is merely conjectural.

3 This meaning of the second hemistich is very doubtful.

inhabitants of Waddān on whom he may bestow his gifts[1] ; They turned (*towards me*) and praised him as he had deserved ; had they even remained silent, their (*well-filled*) saddle-bags had sufficed for his eulogium."

Sulaymān then said to al-Farazdaq: "What think you of that?" The other replied : "He is the best poet of his race," and, on rising up, repeated this line :

"The best poetry comes from men of noble race ; the worst proceeds from slaves."

Nuṣayb was a black slave, belonging to a man who was an inhabitant of Wādi 'l-Qurā[2]. He bound himself by a written contract(*to purchase his liberty*)[3], and (*the Umayyad prince*) 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān, in whose honour he composed some verses, bought (*of the former master*) the right of patronage. Nuṣayb was surnamed Abu'l-Ḥajnā, or, according to some, Abu 'l-Miḥjan[4]. Al-Farasdaq composed a great number of pieces in which he

1 The observation in the preceding note applies equally to this hemistich.

2 A fertile and well-inhabited valley, on the road leading from Madīnah to Syria.

3 For the nature of the bond called *kitāb*, see d'Ohsson's *Tableau general de l'Empire ottoman*, tome VI, page 35.

4 The poet Nu ayb Ibn Riyāḥ, generally known by the surname of Abū Miḥjan (*the man with the crook*), was a black slave. He was present at the battle of al-Qādisiyah and, according to the author of the *Nujūm*, was enfranchised by the khalif 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān. He went to see that prince and. being asked by him what he wanted replied : "I am a slave." 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered apprisers to estimate his value. They answered : "He is a black slave, hardly worth one hundred dīnārs (*forty pounds sterling*)." "Yes." said Abū Miḥjan, speaking of himself, "but he is a shepherd and well understands the management of a flock." On this, they said : "Two hundred d nārs." 'Yes' said the other. "but he can shape arrows and fledge them." Three hundred dīnārs. "Yes. but he shoots well and hits the mark." "Four hundred dinārs," "Yes. but he is a reciter of poems." "Five hundred dīnārs." He then addressed the khalif in these terms : "May God favour the Commander of the faituful! where is my handsel" ? The prince gave him one thousand dīnārs. purchased his mother and all the family, and granted them their liberty. According to the *Nujūm*. in which this anecdote is given, Abū Miḥjan died A.H. 108 (A.C. 726-7). Some account of his is given in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1841.

extolled his father. Ṣa'ṣa'ah Ibn Nājiyah, the grandfather of al-Farazdaq was a powerful chief in the time of paganism. He purchased (*and brought up*) thirty female children whom their parents intended to bury alive[1], and one of them was a dnughṭer of Qays Ibn 'Āṣim al-Minqarī (*No. 74, note*). Al-Farazdaq expressed in the following lines the pride he felt in having such an ancestor :

"My grandfather was he who hinderd fathers from burying their daūghters ; he saved the life of the child, so that it was not buried."

Ṣa'āh was the first of our poet's forefathers who embraced Islāmism, and the author of the *Istī'āb*[2] ranks him among the Companions of the Prophet. Such of the (*literary*) men as were acquainted with poetry differed in opinion respecting the relative merits of al-Farazdaq and Jarīr, but the majority considred Jarir as the better poet. It is well-known that these two composed satires on each other and lived in mutual enmity. The pieces (*in which they attacked each other*) have been collected into a volume, which bears the title of al-naqā'iḍ (*detractory pieces*), and is a well-known work. Jarīr composed on his rival a poem the rhymes of which were formed by the syllable *ra* and which contained this verse :

"When you were a guest at any one's house, you departed with ignominy and left behind disgrace."

It happened, some time after, that al-Farazdaq stopped at the house of a woman who inhabited Madīnah, and he had there an adventure too long to relate. The sum of it was that she received him as guest and treated him with kindness ; on which he asked her to yield her person up to him, but she refused. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was then *wālī* (*chief magistrate*) of Madīnah, was informed of what had passed and gave orders that al-Farazdaq

1 Respecting this barbarous custom, see Sale's note on the eighth verse of the eighty-first *sūrah* of the *Qur'ān*.

2 The *Istī'āb*, a work treating of the Companions of Muḥammad, wsa composed by Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, a doctor whose life will be given in this work.

should be turned out of the city. He was sent away, mounted on a female camel, and a spectator said : "The devil take Ibn al-Marāghah ! [1] one would think he had witnessed what is now passing, when he said : *when you were a guest at any one's house,* etc." A certain *qāḍī*, having one day heard a deposition made by al-Farazdaq, said to him : "We accept your testimony," and then told the parties concerned to furnish additional evidence. Al-Farazdaq, being told, after leaving the court, that the *qāḍī* had rejected his testimony, said (*only this*) : "What should prevent him from doing so have I not (*done like him and*) compromised a thousand respectable women ?" Here is one of the pieces which he composed during his residence at Madīnah :

"These two females lowered me down from a height of eighty fathoms. I descended like a falcon stopping down its dark head. When my legs took solid footing on the ground, these (*girls*) said : 'Is he alive, so that he may give hopes (*of being seen again*), or is he killed so that we must fear (the consequence) ? I said : 'Draw up the cords lest we be discovered,' and I went away more promptly than the last shades of night. I feared two door-keepers who had been set to watch us and I dreaded a black (*thing*) of teak-wood (*a door*), with creaking nails[2]".

When Jarir heard these verses, he composed a long *qaṣīdah* in which he said :

"The mother of al-Farazdaq brought into the world a reprobate, a short-winged buzzard. When night spreads her shades around, he forms his two ropes into a ladder, by which he may mount to the chambers of his female neighbours. Adulterer ! you were lowered down from a height of eighty fathoms, but you could never attain to any height in glory and in honour. People of Madīnah ! that man is impurity itself ; be on your guard and shut all entrances by which may pass (*a wretch so*) foul, so versed

1 Literally : God's curse on Ibn al-Marāghah ! This was a nickname given to Jarīr. For its origin, see vol. I, page 297. Maledictions of this kind were often employed by the Arabs to express approbation.

2 Ibn Khallikān has cited the last words of this verse incorrectly ; the right reading is : تلوح مساميره "the *broad-headed* nails of which shine brightly".

in all lewdness. The expulsion of al-Farazdaq from your town was the purifying of the quarter which lies between the Muṣallā and Wāqim[1]".

When al-Farazdaq heard the contents of this poem, he answered it by another, which was also of considerable length and which contained this passage :

"It would be wrong in me to revile persons resembling my high-minded ancestors, so generous, so noble ! But it would be right for me to return insult for insult, if I was attacked by the descendants of 'Abd Shams or of Hāshim, the two branches of 'Abd Manāf. Such people are my equals in worth ; let me then have one like them (*If I must attack*). I disdain satirizing Kulayb (*Jarīr's ancestor*) in opposing to him (*my ancestor*) Dārim".

The inhabitants of Madīnah, having heard the first of these (*three*) pieces, met together and went to Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam the Umayyad, who then governed the city in the name of his relative, Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān. "It is not fit," said they, "that a poem such as this should be recited in a place where the widows of the Prophet are residing. Besides, the author has incurred the penalty of corporal correction." Marwān replied that he would not inflict that punishment, but would write to a person who would do so. He then ordered al-Farazdaq to quit the city within three days. In allusion to this circumstance, the poet said :

"He threatened me and fixed a term of three days ; the same term assigned to the Thamūd, when threatened with destruction[2]".

Marwān then wrote to one of his officers, commanding him to chastise al-Farazdaq and cast him into prison. (*He gave this letter to the poet*), making him believe that it contained an order for a present. He afterwards regretted what he had done, and dispatched after the poet a messenger, to whom he (*merely*) said :

---

1 Wāqim was the name of a castle at Madīnah. For *Muṣallā*, see *No. 262n.*

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrah xi, verse 68.

"I have just pronounced a piece of verse; have it is; go and repeat it to al-Farazdaq :

'Say to al-Farazdaq, and folly is like its name[1]! 'If you obey not the order I have given you, go to Najd (*ijlis*). Leave Madīnah ; it is a place to be feared. Go to Makkah or to Bayt al-maqdis (*Jerusalem*). If you have committed a grave fault, take now consumate prudence for your guide' ".

The word *ijlis* means *go to al-Jalsā*, that is, to *Najd*. This country was called *al-Jalsā* on account of its elevation ; for the root *jalūs* signifies to *set up (after reclining)*. When al-Farazdaq heard these verses, he understood what Marwān meant, and threw away the letter. He then said :

"O Marwān[2] ! my camel was stopped, in expection of a gift which was not totally dispaired of ; and you gave me a sealed letter ; but I feared it would procure me the gift of death. Throw away the letter, Farazdaq ! best it should be dangerous, like the letter of al-Mutalammis".

As we have now mentioned *the letter of al-Mutalammis*, we shall relate what is told of it, as the reader of this work may perhaps be desirous of knowing what it was. Jarīr Ibn 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd Ibn Dawfan* Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Wahb Ibn Julay Ibn Aḥmas Ibn Dubay'ah Ibn Rābī'ah Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn Adnān received the surname of al-Mutalammis for having said, in a *qasīdah* :

"This (*happened*) at the time (*we were dwelling in the valley*) of al-'Ird, the flies of which, that is, the wasps, lived in abundance, as also the blue fly, so pertinacious (*mutalammis*)[3]".

---

1 This proverbial expression is not noticed by al-Maydānī. It appears to signify: 'It is as bad to be stupid. as to be called so,' and was probably used in speaking to persons whom it was necessary to put on their guard.

2 The right reading is يا مروان with the apocopated vocative. *See Ḥamāsah*, page 189.

3 This verse is given incorrectly in the editions. the manuscripts and the *Ishtiqāq* of Ibn Durayd, p. 192. The *Ḥamāsah*, p. 323, gives it as it should be and explains its meaning and grammatical construction.

* 'Dawqal' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

Al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafah Ibn al-'Abd al-Bakrī, his sister's son, composed, both of them, satires on 'Amr Ibn al-Hind al-Lakhmī, the king of Ḥīrah[1]. These poems were communicated to 'Amr, but he did not manifest any dissatisfaction on hearing them. The two poets, having afterwards praised him in their verses, he handed to each of them a letter, addressed to his lieutenant at Ḥīrah[2], and gave them to understand that these papers contained an order to bestow on them a handsome present. The truth was that, in them, he enjoined his lieutenant to put the bearers to death. When they arrived near Ḥīrah, al-Mutalammis said to Ṭarafah : "Both of us have satirized the king and, if he had the intention of bestowing on us a gift, he would have done so, without writing in our favour to Ḥīrah. Come! let us show the letters to some one who can read ; if they be dangerous for us, we can take to flight before any one knows that we are here." Ṭarafah replied : "I connot permit myself to open the king's letter." "By Allāh ! " exclaimed al-Mutalammis, "I shall open the one which he gave me ; I must know what it contains, for I do not wish to resemble the man who bore in his hand the instrument which served to kill him." He then looked about and, seeing a young boy come out of the town, he said to him : "Tell me, my boy ! can you read ? " "I can," said the lad. "Well," said al-Mutalammis, "read me this letter." The boy cast his eyes over it and said: "Let the mother of al-Mutalammis be rendered childless." On hearing this, al-Mutalammis said to Ṭarafah : "Open your letter and see if it contains the same order as mine." Ṭarafah replied : " 'Amr may be bold enough to have you put to death, but he dare not do so to me, lest he should give a mortal offence to my tribe." Al-Mutalammis threw his letter into the river of Ḥīrah and fled to Syria. Ṭarafah entered into the city and was put to death. The history of this is well-known. The *letter of al-Mutalammis* is an expression employed proverbially

1 For an account of this adventure by al-Mutalammis himself, see Reiske's edition of Ṭarafah's *Mu'allaqah, Prologus*, p. XLIX et seq.

2 This is evidently a mistake ; the king of Ḥīrah could not have had a regular lieutenant in his own capital. The true reading is *al-Ḥajar,* الحجر which place was the capital of Baḥrayn. The recital made by al-Mutalammis gives the latter reading.

in speaking of persons who read letters in which their death is ordered. It is to this al-Ḥarīrī alludes, in his tenth Maqāmah[1], where he says : "And I unsealed it as one would do who wished to escape from (*a danger*) such as (*that contained in*) the letter of al-Mutalammis. The poet al-Ablah, of whom we have already spoken (*No. 653*) said in one of his *qaṣīdahs* :

"The passionate lover reads expressions of disdain on the page of her cheek ; (*a page as clear*) as the letter of al-Mutalammis."

Let us resume our notice on al-Farazdaq. He then set out and fled for refuge to Sa'īd Ibn al-'Āṣ[2], whom he found in company with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (*the sons of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*), and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far[3]. When he told them what had happened, each of them ordered him a present of one hundred dīnārs and a good travelling camel. He then proceeded to Baṣrah. Marwān, being told (*by his friends*) that he had acted wrong in exposing himself to be attacked by the ablest poet of (*the tribe of*) Muḍar, sent after him a messenger with one hundred dīnārs and a camel ; so much he dreaded being satirized by the poet. It is related that al-Farazdaq, in one of his journies, halted in (*the midst of*) a desert and lighted a fire. A wolf, seeing the flame, drew near, and he gave it some of his provisions to eat whilst he recited these lines :

"In the middle of the night, I called near me, by lighting a fire, a dark-grey, swift-trotting (*wolf*), which had never been a companion (*to any one*). When he arrived, I said : 'Approach ! take this ! you and I shall have equal parts in the provisions.' I passed the night in cutting the meat and sharing it between us ; now, lighted by the fire, and then surrounded by smoke. When he

---

1 Page 103 of de Sacy's edition.

2 Sa'īd Ibn al-'Āṣ, a member of the Umayyad family, governed Kūfah under the khalifate of 'Uthmān. In A. H. 29 (A. C. 649-50), he re-established the authority of the Arabs in Ādharba'ijān ; in 49 (A. C. 669) he was appointed governor of Madīnah by Mu'āwiyah and died A. H. 59 (A. C. 678-9). *Nujūm.*

3 Abd Allāh, the son of Ja'far and the nephew of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was born in Abyssinia during the first Muslim emigration. He was a devoted partisan of his uncle. His death occurred A. H. 80 (A. C. 699-700). *Nujūm.*

shewed his teeth, as if in laughter, the hilt of my sword was firm in my grasp, and I said : 'Sup, O wolf ! and, if you engage to use no treachery towards me, we shall be inseparable companions. But you are (*as bad as*) a man ; you and treachery are brothers, nourished with the same milk. Had you aroused any other but me in demanding hospitality, he would have shot you with an arrow or pierced you with the point of his spear.' "

He one day recited to the Umayyed (*khalif*), Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, a poem rhyming in *m* and containing the following passage :

"Three (*girls*) and two make five ; the sixth was (*of a colour which*) inclined to black[1]. They passed the night lying at my sides, and I passed it in breaking open the seals. It seemed as if... were in it and as if they were sitting on burning coals[2]."

When he pronounced these lines, Sulaymān said to him ; "I am an (*imām khalif*) and yet you acknowledge in my presence that you committed fornication ; you must therefore undergo the corporal punishment fixed by law." "Commander of the faithful !" said al-Farazdaq, "how can I have incurred such a chastisement ?" Sulaymān answered : "The Almighty has said (*Qur'ān*, sūr. xxiv, vers. 2) : *He and she who commit fornication scourge each of them with one hundred stripes.*" Al-Farazdaq replied : "The book of God averts that punishment from me, by virtue of these words : "*And the poets ; none follow them but the misguided. Seest thou not how they roam through every valley (of the imagination), and that they say things which they do not perform.* I said also what I did not perform." Sulaymān said to him, in smiling ; "Go away, you reprobate !" Al-Farazdaq did a noble act for which we may hope that he gained admission into Paradise and which we shall relate here. Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik went on a pilgrimage to Makkah during the lifetime of his father (*the Khalif*). He made the circuits (*around the Ka'bah*) and endeavoured to

---

1 I suppose the right reading to be سحام .

2 The breaking open of seals and the pronoun *it* (in the third line), without an antecedent. indicate evidently obscene ideas. The translator is unable to explain the word مغالق .

approach the (*black*) stone, so that he might kiss it, but was unable to do so, on account of the crowd. A platform was set up for him, and whllst he was sitting on it, with a number of the (*principal*) Arabs of Syria, and looking at the people, Zayn al-'Ābidīn (*No. 397*), the son of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib approached. He was the handsomest of men and no one smelled so sweetly. Having made the circuits around the (*holy*) house, he advanced towards the stone and the people made way for him, so that he was able to kiss it. One of the Syrians asked who that person was to whom so much respect was shown, and Hishām, fearing that the Syrians might take a fancy to him[1], answered that he did not know. Al-Farazdaq who was present, said; "I know him." The Syrian said to him; "Who is he? Abā Firās!" and the poet replied in these terms:

"This is he whose footsteps are well-known to al-Baṭḥā[2]; he is known to this temple, to the sacred territory and to that which is profane. This is the son of the best of the servants of God; this is the pious, the pure, the unsullied, the learned. When the Qurayshids look at him they say: 'Virtues such as his are what the virtuous should strive to imitate.' He has reached a pinnacle of glory to which the Arabs of Islāmic times and men of foreign race have been unable to attain. The corner of al-Ḥaṭīm[3] recognises the touch of his hand, and strives to detain it, when he goes to kiss (*the black stone*). The rod which he wields owes its sweet odour to (*the contact of*) a hand belonging to a man of comely aspect and exalted rank. His eyes are cast down, through modesty, and those of other men are cast down in his presence; none dare to speak to him unless they see him smile. The light of true guidance shines forth from his forehead like the radiance of the sun dispersing the dark clouds. The source from which he springs is derived

---

1 It was to the Arabs established in Syria that the Umayyad were indebted for their elevation and the maintenance of their power. Hishām was apprehen. sive that they might fix their affection on this 'Alide prince.

2 Al-Baṭḥā is the name of the valley in which Makkah is built.

3 The corner of the Ka'bah near which is inserted the black stone, is called the Ḥaṭīm.

from the Apostle of God; pure are the elements of which he is composed; pure his nature and his disposition. That is the son of Fāṭimah, in case you know him not; with his grandfather terminated the series of the prophets of God. Long since, God ennobled and exalted him; this was traced on the tablet of his (*life*) by the pen *(of fate)*. Your asking who he is can be for him no disparagement: The Arabs know him whom you know not, and so do the foreigners. Each of his hands (*furnishes*) a shower *(of gifts)* which all enjoy; the flow of their (*beneficence*) is constantly invoked and never ceases. From him, so mild in disposition, no bursts of passion are to be feared; he possesses the double beauty of body and of mind. He alleviates the distressed and takes their burden on himself; so sweet is his temper that the word *yes*, is sweet for him to say. His, the promises which are never broken; his, the generous inspirations, the large (*and hospitable)* court and the resolution which appals *(the foe)*. He extends his beneficene to all mankind, and delivers them from gloom,[1] from poverty and from want. He belongs to a family which religon obliges us to love and towards which hatred, if shewn, is an act of infidelity. Their neighbourhood is an asylum and a protection. If pious men were counted, they would hold the first rank; if it were asked who are the best on earth, the answer would be: 'They'. The most bountiful of men cannot keep pace with them in the career of beneficence; generous tough he be, he cannot come up with them. They are *(fertilising)* rains when drought afflicts the land; they are lions, lions of al-Shawrā, when the ardour of war has arisen. Straitened circumstances cannot diminish the abundance of their gifts, their conduct is the same, whether they be rich or poor. When the name of God is pronounced at the beginning or at the close of an invocation, their names are mentioned before those of others. Their generous nature and their hands ovrfiowing with beneficence will not permit blame to settle near them: *(Shall we ask)* what are the noble qualities which have not adorned their necks, from the commencement of their existence? or must we not rather affirm *(that they*

1 The true reading is doubtful, but the meaning is clear. I read الغيابه (*darkness*). [الغيابه (absence) in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.]—Ed.

possess them all)[1]. They who know God know the exalted rank of that man; from his family religion was received by every nation".

Hishām was so much displeased on hearing this *qaṣīdah* that he had al-Farazdaq taken to prison. Zayn al-'Ābidīn sent twelve thosand dirhams to the poet, who refused to accept them, saying that he had praised him, not for the hopes of obtaining a gift but with the intention of pleasing Almighty God. To this Zayn al-'Ābidīn answered: "We others, *the people of the house*[2], never take back what we bestow." Al-Farazdaq then accepted the present. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, a person of whom we have already spoken[3], relates as follows: "Al-Walīd, the son of 'Abd al-Malik, got into the pulpit (*to pronounce*) the *khuṭbah*, and he heard the sound of a *nāqūs*[4]. "What is that"? said he. "The monastery," was the reply. He immediately ordered it to be levelled to the ground and did part of the work with his own hands. The people followed his example and destroyed the building. Al-Aḥzam, the king of the Greeks[5], then wrote a letter

---

1 Literally: or to that, yes; i.e.: or to that *(question must we not say)* yes?

2 The term people *of the house* served to designate descendants of Muḥammad, the posterity of his daughter Fāṭimah, and of 'Alī.

3 The author refers perhaps to a passage in the life of Jarīr the post *(No. 127)* Abū Ja'fr Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, a *mawlā* of the Hāshim family, died at Sāmarrah, A. H, 245 (A. C. 859-60). He was a learned genealogist, well-versed in the history of the ancient Arabs and their battle-days, an exact, veracious and traditionist Traditionist. (*Nujūm*). For further information see M. Flugel's *Grammatische Schulen der, Araber*, p. 67.

4 In Muḥammadan countries, the use of bells was forbidden in Christian churches. To call the people to prayer they strike with a mallet on a short board which is suspended by cords. This is the *nāqūs*.

5 The Arabic word احزم (*aḥzam*) signifies *circumspect* and *corpulent*. I suspect we must read اخرم (*akhram*). an adjective which means *slit-nosed*, and that the person meant was Justinian II. This prince was deposed and his nose was amputated, A.C. 695; but, a few years afterwards he was restored the throne, and reigned till A.C. 711, when he was put to death. Al-Walīd reigned from A.C. 705 to 714.

in which he said : 'This monastery was authorised by your predecessors ; and. if they were right in doing so, you are now in the wrong ; if you are in the right, they were wrong. Al-Walīd said : 'Can any one answer that ? Al-Farazdaq replied : "Write to him these words : '*And* (remember) *David and Soloman, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, in which the sheep of certain people had fed by night having no shepherd* ; *we were witnesses of their judgment, and we gave the understanding of the cause to Solomon*[1], *and to all we gave wisdom and knowledge*' ".

The anecdotes told of al-Farazdaq are very numerous, but concision is to be preferred here. He died at Baṣrah, in the year 110 (A. C. 728-9), forty days before the death of Jarīr ; some say, eighty. Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (*No. 345*) says, in his *Shudhūr al-uqūd*[2], that they both died in the year 111. Al-Sukkārī[3]* states that al-Farazdaq saw 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and that he died in the year 110. Other accounts say, 112 or 114. Ibn Qutaybah mentions, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* that al-Farazdaq being suffering from a *vomica*, was taken to Baṣrah in that state. The doctor who was called in prescribed to him a draught of naphtha, on which the patient exclaimed : "Do you mean to make me drink naphtha *before I am gone to hell* ? I am still in the world". When he died, he was nearly one hundred year of Age. Al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) relates as follows, in his *Kāmil* : Al-Ḥasan

1 *Qūr'ān*, sūrah xxi, verse 78. On this verse Sale has a note, borrowed from the Musulmān commentators, and informing us that David ordered the owner of the land to take the sheep in compensation for his loss ; but Solomon, who was then only eleven years of age, was of opinion that it would be more just for the owner to take the produce of the sheep, namely their milk, lambs and wool, till the shephered put the field in as good condition as before the trespass.

2 This title signifies *Fragments of golden collars*. The work itself was historical compilation.

3 Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkārī, a learned philologer. genealogist and historian, studied at the schools of Kūfah and Baṣrah, and composed some works, one of which was a collection of ancient Arabic poetry. He died A. H. 275 (A. C. 888-9), aged sixty-three years. For fuller information see professor Flugel's work entitled *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 89.

* 'al-Askarī' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

al-Baṣrī (*No. 148*), and al-Farazdaq met together at a funeral, and al-Farazdaq said to al-Ḥasan : 'Abū-Sa'īd ! Do you know what the people are saying ? They declare that the best and the worst of men have met at this funeral'. 'Nay', said al-Ḥasan, 'I am not the best of men, neither are you the worst. But, tell me what good work you can adduce in your favour (*before the tribunal of God*), when this day arrives (*for yourself*). Al-Farazdaq answered : '(*I shall adduce*) the testimony I have borne, for the last sixty years, that their is only one God.' A female belonging to the tribe of Ṭamīm declared that al-Farazdaq was seen in a dream and, being asked how the Lord had treated him, he answered : 'He pardoned me'. Being then asked for what reason, he replied : 'For a word which I said in a conversation with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī' ". The words همام and عقال , must be pronounced *Hamām* and *'Iqāl*. Muḥammad Ibn Sufyān was one of the three individuals who bore the name of *Muḥammad* in anti-Islāmic times. Ibn Qutaybah mentions them in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, and al-Suhaylī (*No. 346*) says, in his *al-Rawḍ al-Unuf* : "Amongst the Arabs, no one is known to have borne this name except three persons. Their fathers, having heard that a Muḥammad was soon to appear, who would be sent on a (*divine*) mission to Ḥijāz, gave this name to their sons, hoping that one of them might be that person. According to Ibn Fūrak (*No. 584*), in his *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl* (*book of chapters*), their names were, (1) Muḥammad Ibn Sufyān Ibn Mujāshi', the grandfather of al-Farazdaq, (2) Muḥammad Ibn Uḥayḥah the grandson of al-Julāḥ, the same who was a (*uterine*) brother of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Apostle of God, (3) Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumrān Ibn Rabī'ah. The fathers of these three went to a certian king who was acquainted with the primitive scriptures, and he informed them of the coming of God's apostle and mentioned his name. Each of them had left his wife at home in a state of pregnancy, and then vowed that, if his child was a male, he would name it *Muḥammad* and so they did. مجاشع must be pronounced *Mujāshi'* ; دارم is pronounced *Dārim with an i in the second* syllable), the other names in al-Farazdaqs genealogy are too well known to require observation. الفرزدق pronounced *al-Farazdaq* was a nick-name given to the poet. Ibn Qutaybah explains it in two different manners, stating, in his *Adab al-Kātib*,

that it signifies a lump of dough, and that its form, as a noun of unity, is *Farazdaqah*. "The poet," says he, "received this name on account of his ugly face[1]." He then states, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature, which made him be compared to the crust (*farazdaqah*)[2] with which women polish their teeth. The first explanation is the best, because the poet caught the small-pox and, when recovered, his face remained deformed and wrinkled. It is related that a person said to him : "Abū Firās ! vultus tuus est sicut congeries pudendorum muliebrium (احراح) *aḥrāḥ*. To this he answered : "Inspice ! forsan in illa videbis pudendum matris tuae"*. The word *aḥrāḥ*, with two *ḥ*, is the plural of *ḥirḥ*, a word employed to designate the female sexual organ. In the singular, the second *ḥ* is suppressed, but reappears ; in the plural; for it is a general rule that words irregular in the singular become regular in the plural. *Nawār*, the cousin and wife of al-Farazdaq, was the daughter of A'yan Ibn Ḍubay'ah Ibn 'Iqāl, of the family of Mujāshi'. It was her grandfather, Ḍubay'ah who hamstrung the camel on which 'Āyishah, the mother of the faithful[3], was mounted, at the battle of the Camel. A Quaryshite having asked Nawār to marry him, she sent to al-Farazdaq and requested him to act as her legal guardian, because he was the son of her uncle. He replied : "In Syriā, you have nearer relations than me, and I cannot but apprehend that one of them may arrive and blame me for interfering. You must therefore declare before witnesses that you leave what concerns you to my decision." She consented and (*when the formality was executed*), al-Farazdaq went out with the witnesses and said to them : "She has taken you to witness that she leaves what concerns her to my decision ; now I take you to witness, that I have decided on marrying her myself, and that I assign to her a dowry of one hundred she-camels of a bay colour with black eyes".

1 Ibn Qutaybah should have added, to complete his explanation, that the poet's foce was wrinkled and spotted like a burnt cake of bread.

2 Here the text is faulty ; I read. اقتيه التى تشربها .

3 The title of *Mother of the faithful* was given to all the widows of Muḥammad.

* English version : Do you see your mother's vagina.—Ed.

Al-Nawār was much incensed at this proceeding and, wishing to obtain justice. she went to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, who was at that time sovereign of Hijāz and 'Irāq. Al-Farazdaq set out also. Al-Nawār took up her abode with al-Khawlah, the dughter of Manzūr Ibn Rabbān al-Fazārī and the wife of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr. Being kindly received by her, she implored her intervention (*with Ibn al-Zubayr*). Al-Farazdaq stopped at the house of Ḥamzah, the son of Ibn al-Zubayr and of al-Khawlah, and, having recited some verses in his praise, he obtained from him the promise to intercede. AlKhawlaḥ then spoke in favour of al-Nawār and Ḥamzah in favour of al-Farazdaq. The influence of al-Khawlah prevailed, and Ibn al-Zubayr ordered the poet to proceed to Baṣrah with al-Nawār, and to avoid every familiarity with her till the governor of that place had decided between them. It was on this occasion that al-Farazdaq composed these lines (*on Ibn al-Zubayr*):

"The intervention of your son was of no avail, but that of Manẓūr Ibn Rabbān's daughter succeeded. An intercessor who goes to you clothed is not like one who goes to you naked."

Some time after, they were reconciled together, but a considerable period elapsed before they had any children. Al-Nawār then had a number of sons, whose names were Labaṭah; Sabaṭah* Khabatah, Rakaḍah, ānd Zama'ah[1], but they all died childless. The daughters only left posterity. Ibn Khalawayh (*No. 188*) says that among the sons of al-Farazdaq were Kalaṭah and Khalaṭah,† God knows best! Al-Farazdaq afterwards divorced al-Nawār for motives the indication of which would lead us too far. He then repented of what he had done and composed on the subject a number of pieces, one which was the following:

My regret was like that of al-Kusa'i[2], when Nawār was divorced and left me. She was my paradise and I abandoned it;

1 Ibn Durayd explains the meaning of these strange names in his *Ishtiqāq*, page 147.

2 See de Sacy's *Chrestomatie arabe*, tome III, page 239. The best account of Farazdaq is that given by M. C. de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique for June*, 1834.

* 'Ḥabaṭah' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† 'Jalaṭah' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

'twas thus that a maleficent demon expelled Adam from his paradise."

The stories and anecdotes told of what he did under these circumstances are too numerous to be related here, and this is not a fit place for them. A male child of al-Farazdaq's died, and the fathes said over it the funeral service ; he then turned to the people who were present, and pronounced this verse:

"Between us and those who lie here there is but little difference: we remain here after them for a short time, and then we depart (*to join them*)."

He died a few days after.

752 HILĀL AL-ṢĀBĪ

The *Kātib* (*scribe*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hilal Ibn al-Muḥssan Ibn Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Zahrūn Ibn Ḥabbūn*[1] al-Ṣabī al-Ḥarranī (*the Sabean and native of Ḥarrān*), was the grandson of Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī, the author of the celebrated *collection* of epistles[2] and the same of whom we have already spoken (*No. 14*). He studied under the grammarian Abū Ali 'l-Farisī (*No. 155*), 'Alī Ibn Īsā al-Rummānī (*No. 410*), Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Jarrāh al-Kharrāz[3] and other masters. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) mentions him in the history of Baghdād and

1 The orthography of this name is fixed by the author of the *Tārīkh al-'Aynī*. See Chwolsohn's *Ssabier*, vol. I, p. 583.

2 A single volume of this great collection of epistles and dispatches is preserved in the Leyden library, and the list of its contents has been given by M. Dozy in the catalogue of that establishment, vol. I, p. 144 *et. siq.* The documents are on various subjects and were really sent to their address. Some of them were drawn up by Abū Isḥāq himself and the rest by other men of rank and talent. They were once highly admired as specimens of elegant style. but, for an European reader, their principal interest must consist in the historical indications which they sometimes offer.

3 The orthography of this name varies in the manuscripts.

* 'Ḥayyūn' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

says: "We worte down (*pieces*) under his dictation; he was veracious (*as a transmitter of literary information*). Al-Muḥassan, Hilāl's father, was a Ṣāben in religion, as his own father, Ibrāhim, was before him; but Hilāl became a Muslim towards the close of his life[1]. Whilst he was an infidel, he took lessons from learned (*Musulmāns*), so ardent was he in the pursuit of literary knowledge[2]." I met with a work of his, consisting of amusing stories and curious anecdotes. It was entitled by him *Kitab al-Amāthil wa 'l-A'yān wa musdi* 'l-'Awātif wa 'l-Iḥsān* (*book of eminent aud distinguished men, procurer of favours and of kindness*). It forms one volume, and I do not know whether he composed anything else or not. His son, Ghars al-Ni'mah Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Hilāl[3], was possessed of every merit and composed some useful works, such as the famous (*compilation entitled the*) great history and a book to which he gave the title of *Al-Hafawāt al-uādirah min al-Mu'aqqalin† al-Malḥūẓīn wa 'l-Saqatāt al-bādirah min al-Mnghaffllin al-Malḥūẓīn* (*strange blunders committed by persons respectable for their intelligence and mistakes into which people favoured by fortune have been led by their carelessness*). In this volume he assembled a great quantity of stories relative to the subject of which he treated. Here is one of the anecdotes which I extracted from it: "Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, who was uncle to (*the Abbasīds khalifs*) al-Ṣaffāḥ and Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, sent to the former who had then commenced his reign, a deputation of shaykhs (*chiefs*) belonging to the Arabic (*tribes*) established in Syria. He thought that their (*singular*) cast of mind and their declarations of fidelity would afford him some amusement. 'They swear,' said he, 'that of all the Prophet's parents they know none, excepting the Umayyads, who had a right to inherit of him, till you obtained the

---

1 The unusual expression باخره is replaced, in the edition of Būlāq, by باخر عمره , which is much clearer.

2 It is difficult to determine where this extract finishes.

3 See *No. 125n*, and *No. 295*.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : *muntadī*.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : *Mughaffilīn*.—Ed.

supreme authority[1] '". Here is another anecdote which I extracted from the same book ; though not very delicate it is amusing, and in compilations (*such as mine*), a little pungency is necessary, as the gay should always be mixed with the serious. "Abū Sa'īd Māhik Ibn Bindār, a fire-worshipper and a native of Ray was one of the most eminent *Kātibs* among the Daylamites a people of whose (*singular*) reserve (*and modesty, strange*) stories got into currency. When he acted as secretary to 'Alī Ibn Sāmān, one of the Daylamite chiefs, the wazīr Abū Muḥammad al-Muahallabī (*No. 170*) resolved to send him out on a mission and, seeing him rise from his place with the intention of withdrawing, he said to him: 'Abū Sa'īd ! do not leave the palace till I make you acquainted with an affair wich I wish you to arrange for me.' Māhik replied : 'I hear and shall obey.' He then stood up and left the presence chamber. On this, the wazīr said : 'The man is surely possessed, or else he has worked so much with me that his heart is oppressed and he requires to withdraw. Let them tell the door-keeper to prevent him from going out.' " Māhik had been a long time seated and was wanting to go to the privy, and that was the reason of his retiring. (*On leaving the room*), he found all the privies locked ; the wazīr having ordered that to be done, 'because,' said he, 'there was always a bad smell in the palace of Abū Ja'far al-Saymarī, where there was a privy for the use of the public.' Māhik discovered at length one closet which was not locked, but which was reserved for the wazīr. He lifted up the curtain which hung at the entrance and was about to go in when the *farrāsh*[2] came up and pushed him away. 'Is not this a privy ? said Mālik. The other answered that it was. 'Well' said the *Kātib*, 'I want to do something there, and why do you hinder me?' The *farrāsh* replied: 'This is a reserved closet into which none enter except the wazīr.' 'The others are locked,' exclaimed Māhik, 'how then shall I do ? I was going out, but the door-keeper prevented me ; so I risk doing all in my clothes.' The *farrāsh* said: 'Get an authorisation to enter into

1 Their mentioning the Umayyads, whose authority al-Saffāḥ had just overturned and whom he detested, was a sufficient proof of their simplicity.

2 The duty of the *farrāsh* was to take care of the furniture, and to pitch the wazīr's tents when he was on an expedition.

one of them ; ' it shall then be opened to you, and you may do your business. Though the case was pressing, he wrote to the wazīr a petition in which he said : 'Māhik, the humble servant of our lord the wazīr, wants to do what all men must, and which is a thing not fit to mention.' Now the *farrāsh* says: 'You shall not go in,' and the door-keeper says : 'You shall not go out ; ' and your servant is thus placed in a dilemma ; the thing, moreover, is becoming very pressing. If our lord the wazīr be disposed to oblige his servant, 'he will authorise him to do his need in the reserved closet, provided that such be the will of God. Salutation !' A chamberlain to whom he remitted this paper, presented it to the wazīr who, not knowing what the writer wanted, asked what was the matter. Being informed of the circumstance, he laughed heartily and wrote on the back of the petition : 'Let Abū Sa'īd, whom God exalt ! do his need[1] where he pleaseth, if such be the will of God.' The chamberlain carried out the paper to Māhik who handed it to the *farrāsh*, saying : Here is what you asked for, a *Tawqī'* (*decision*) emanating from our lord the wazīr.' The *farrāsh* replied : 'All *Tāwqī's* must be perused by Abu 'l-Alā Ibn Abranā, the *Kātib* charged with the administration of the palace ; as for me, I can neither read nor write.' On this Māhik exclaimed : 'Bring some one of the palace who can do so ; for the matter is very pressing'[2]. Another *farrāsh* who was present burst into laughter, took him by the hand and led him to a closet, where he might do what he wanted." I extracted also the following anecdote from the same work ; "(*The poet*) Arṭāh Ibn Suhayyah*[3] lived partly in the time of paganism and partly in that of Islāmism. He entered into the presence of (the *Umayyad Khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān who, seeing that he was a very old man, asked

1 The wazīr here employs the plainest and coarsest word ; as if he meant to scandalise the modesty of his decorous petitioner.

2 Here Māhik forgets himself and speaks in the crudest terms.

3 This poet belonged to the tribe of Murrah. According to the author of the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, MS. of the *Bibl. Imp.* No. 1371, fol. 95 verso, he lived to the age of one hundred and thirty years. Suhayyah was the name of his mother. Mr. de Hammer mentions him in the *Literaturgeschichte der Āraber*, vol. II, p. 519. Some verses of Arṭāh's are given in the *Ḥamāsah*.

* 'Sumayyah' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

him to repeat some of the verses in which he alluded to the length of his life. Arṭāh recited these lines :

'I saw that time consumed (*the life of*) man, even as the earth consumes bits of iron cast away. When death comes to a son of Adam, she requires his soul and nothing more. Know that she will attack again, till she fulfils her vow by (*seizing*) Abu 'l-Walīd.'

(*The khalif*) shuddered on hearing these words, thinking that they applied to himself, for his surname was Abu 'l-Walīd. Arṭāh perceived the fault into which his inadvertence had led him and said : 'Commander of the faithful ! I am surnamed Abu 'l-Walīd.' The persons present declared that he had said the truth, and thus relieved, in some degree, the apprehensions of 'Abd al-Mālik." Here is another anecdote which I derived from the same source : "Abu al-'Alā Sa'īd Ibn Makhlad (*No 617, note*) who was secretary (*kātib*) to (*the regent*) al-Muwaffaq, read to his master a letter, but did not understand it. Al-Muwaffaq then read it and comprehended its meaning. This induced 'Īsā Ibn al-Qāshhī to compose the following lines :

'I see that Fortune refuses her favours to him who courts her and grants them to him who neglects her. How many have sought the means of gaining (*her good will*), but their efforts procured them only useless fatigue. One of her strange freaks is, to show us an amīr who is a better scholar than his secretary.' "

The Muwaffaq just mentioned bore the names of Abū Aḥmād Ṭalḥah : he was the son of (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil and the father of the 'Abbāsid khalif, al-Mu'taḍid. The some work furnished me with the following ancedote : "An Arab of the desert was at the station (*of Arafāt*) with (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (*whilst the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were going on*). A person behind us,' said he, called out to 'Umar, in these terms : 'O successor (*khalif*) of the Apostle of God !' and then : 'O Commander of the faithful.' A voice from behind me then exclaimed : 'That fellow calls him ('*Umar*) by the name of a person who is dead ; by Allāh ! the Commander of the faithful is dead'. I turned round and recognised the speaker ; he was a member of the tribe

of Lihb, a people descended from Naḍr Ibn Azd, and who, in taking omens, were the most skilful in the world." "To this al-Kuthayyir, the lover of al-'Azzā (*No. 521*) alludes in the following verse :

"I asked a man (*of the tribe*) of Lihb to take an augury ; for that talent is now entirely devolved to Lihb".

(*The Arab continued his recital and said*) : "When we stopped (*at Minā*) to throw the stones, a pebble struck 'Umar on the side and made him bleed." On this, some one said : "By Allāh the Commander of the faithful is marked for sacrifice[1] ! by Allāh ! he never again will visit this station !' I turned rouned and discovered that it was this very Lihbide who had spoken. 'Umar was murdered before a year passed away' ". This anecdote is given also in the *Kāmil* (*of al-Mubarrad*). The expression *the person who is dead* referred to (*the khalif*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣaddīq, who was called the successor of the Apostle of God. 'Umar, having obtained the supreme authority, on the death of Abū Bakr, was at first designated by the title of *the successor of the successor of the Apostle of God*, and he therefore said to the Companions : "This is a title which will be lengthened (*indefinitely*), if every one who comes to the supreme power is called the successor of his predecessor, and so on, up to the Apostle of God. You are the faithful, and I am your Commander". They then called him the Commander of the faithful (*Amīr al-Mūminīn*). He was the first who bore this title. The word successor (*khalif*) was the title usually given to Abū Bakr, and, for that reason, the man (*at the pilgrimage*) said : "He has called him by the name of a dead man". 'Umar Ibn Shabbah (*No. 466*) relates, in his History of Baṣrah, on the authority of al-Sha'bī (*No. 296*) that the first person who offered up a prayer from the pulpit for 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was Abū Mūsa 'l-Ash'arī[2], (*who did so*) at Baṣrah. He was also the first who (*in writing to 'Umar*) inscribed on the letter : *To the servant of God* ('Abd Allāh), *the Commander of the*

---

1 The camels intended to be sacrified were slightly wounded on the back on the shoulder, so that they might be known.

2 Abū Mūsa 'l-Ash'arī died A. H. 50 (A. C. 670-1) For a short notice on this general see my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, vol. I, p. 449.

faithful. This made 'Umar say : "I am truly a servant of God and the Commander of the faithful". According to 'Awwānah, the first who designated him by this title was 'Adī, the son of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, and the first who saluted him by it was al-Mughīrah Ibn Shu'bah[1]. According to another statement, 'Umar was one day (*holding a public*) sitting when he said : "By Allāh ! I do not know what we must say ! Abū Bakr was the successor of the Apostle of God and I am the successor of the successor of God's Apostle. Is there any title that can answer." ? Those who were present said : "Commander (*Amīr*) will do." "Nay", said he, "you are all Commanders". On this al-Mughīrah said : "We are the faithful and you are our Commander." "Then", said 'Umar, "I am the Commander of the faithful."[2] These observations have led us away from our subject. Hilāl was born in the month of *Shawwāl*, 359 (Aug.-Sept., A. C. 970), and died on the eve of Thursday, the 17th of *Ramaḍān*, 448 (28th November, A. C. 1056).

753 AL-HAYTHAM IBN 'ADĪ

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Haytham Ibn 'Abī Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zayd Ibn Usayyid Ibn Jābir Ibn 'Adī Ibn Khālid Ibn Khuthaym* Ibn Abī Ḥārithah Ibn Juday Ibn Tadūl† Ibn Buḥtur Ibn Atūd Ibn 'Unayn Ibn Salāmān Ibn Thu'al Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ghawth Ibn Julhumah, was surnamed al-Ṭāī after his ancestor Julhumah, who was denominated al-Ṭaī after his ancestor Julhumah, who bore also the name of Ṭay. His other surnames were al-Thu'alī‡ (*descended from Thu'al*), al-Buḥturī (*descended from Buḥtur*) and al-Kūfī (*native of Kūfah*). He was a

1 See *No. 507 n.* where the name of this chief is incorrectly transcribed : for *Mughayrah* read *Mughīrah*.

2 Ibn Khaldūn gives another account of this in his *Prolegomena*, vol. I, page 462 of the French translation.

* 'Khaythīam' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† 'Thadūl' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

‡ 'al-Tha'alibī' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd which appears to be wrong.—Ed.

relator of poems (*composed by the Arabs of the desert*) and of historical anecdotes (*concerning them*). The specimens, which he handed down, of the language spoken by these Arabs, of their scientific knowledge, of their poetry and of their idioms, are very numerous. His father had settled at Wāsiṭ and was a virtuous man. Al-Haytham (*Ibn 'Adī*), having undertaken to investigate the origin of (*noted*) people, discovered and published many things to their disadvantage which, till then, had been carefully concealed, and, by this, he incurred their reprobation, It is related that he mentioned something (*disgraceful*) of al-'Abbās, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*and the ancestor of the 'Abbāsid khalifs*) ; and the consequence was that he was imprisoned for some years. It is stated, however, that he had been falsely accused and that words were attributed to him which he never uttered ; some time before, he had got married and, as the family of his wife did not like him, they purposely altered what he had said (*of al-'Abbās*) and then declared him to be the author of (*the calumny which they had invented. We may here observe that*) he held the opinions of the Khārijites. A number of works were composed by him[1], such as the *Kitāb al-Mathālib* (*book of vituperative pieces*), the *Kitāb al-Mu'ammarīn* (*on those who lived to an advanced age*), the *Buyūtāt Quraysh* (*on the principal families of the Quraysh tribe*), the *Buyūtāt al-'Arab* (*on the principal families of the Arabs*), the *Kitāb hubūṭ Ādam* etc. (*on the fall of Adam, the dispersion of the Arabs and the places, where they settled*), a work on the settlements made by the Arabs in Khurāsān and Sawād[2], a treatise on the genealogy of the tribe of Ṭay, the *Madīḥ ahl al-Shām* (*eulogies composed on the*

---

1 In the Arabic text the term employed is *kutub muṣannafah*. In the Introduction to the first volume of this translation, and in a note of *No. 509*, I offered conjectural explanations of this term. I am not inclined to think that it means works in which the diverse matters are classed and arranged under separate heads, each chapter being appropriated to a particular subject. Al-Jawharī says, in his dictionary, that the verb *ṣannaf signifies to dispose a thing in classes.*

2 The term *sawād* signifies darkness, *verdure*, *a crowd*, and was employed to designate the territory in which Baṣrah and Kūfah were situated. It thus included the ancient Chaldaea and Babylonia. See *No. 485*.

Arabs established in Syria), a history of the Persians (*'Ajam*) and the Umayyads, a work treating of the enfranchised slaves who married into Arabian families' the *Kitāb al-Wufūd* (*on the deputations sent by the Arabic tribes to Muḥammad*), the *Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfah* (*description of the territorial allotments* made to the first settlers *in Kūfah*), the *Kitāb Wulāt al-Kufah* (*on the governors of Kūfah*), the greater history of the Sharīfs, the lesser history of the Sharīfs, a classified list (*ṭabaqāt*) of Jurisconsults and Traditionists, the *Kunā al-Ashrāf (on the surnames borne by the Sharīfs)*, the *Khawātīm al-Khulafā (on the signet-rings used by the khalifs)*, a work on the *qāḍis* of Kūfah and Baṣrah, the *Mawāsim* (*periodical meeting-places*), a work on the khalifs*, the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (*curious anecdotes*), a book of annals, a history al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Ali, and observations on his death, a history of the Persians (*Fāros*), a work treating of the officers who commanded the police guards in the service of the Amīrs of 'Irāq. He left also some other treatises. As he had the honour of being admitted into the soceity[1] of (*the Khalifs*) al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdi, al-Hādi and al-Rashīd, he transmitted down a number of their sayings : "Al-Mahdi" said he, "addressed me (*one evening*) in these terms : 'Attention, Haytham ! numerous anecdotes are told of the Arabs who dwell in the desert ; some speak of their avarice and meanness, others of their generosity and beneficence, and these accounts all disagree. What do you know on the subject ?' I replied : 'You have fallen on the knowing one ! I once left my family, with the intention of visiting some of my kindred, and took with me a female camel on which I rode. And behold ! she went off and ran away[2]. I followed her till the evening set in, and then I caught her. On looking round, I saw a Beduin tent and went to it. The mistress of it called to me and said : 'Who are you ?' I answered : 'A guest,' She replied : 'What has a guest to do with us ? The desert is surely wide enough.[3]' She then stood up to take some wheat and, having ground it, she kneaded the

1 Literally : to the sittings.

2 In this narration al-Haytham imitates the idiom spoken by the nomadic Arabs.

3 This seems to mean : you may easily find another halting-places.

* al-Khawārij in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

flour, made it into bread and sat down to eat. Very soon after, her husband arrived with milk and saluted (*us*). He then said : 'Who is this man ?' She answered : 'A guest ;' and he said to me : 'God grant you a long life ! ' Speaking then to her, he said ; 'Tell me, such a one ! did you give your guest anything to eat ?' She answered : 'Yes.' He entered into the tent, filled a wooden bowl with milk, brought it out to me and said : 'Drink.' It was the sweetest draught I ever drank. 'I do not see you eating ?' said he ; 'did she give you anything ? ' I answered : 'No, by Allāh ! ' He went in to her, full of anger, and said : 'Woe be to you ! you eat and left your guest (*without food*)' ! 'What could I do for him ?' said she ; 'ought I to give him my own supper to eat'. He had then a discussion with her and ended by giving her a violent stroke on the head, after which, he took a leather provision bag, went to my camel and cut its throat. 'God forgive you ! ' I exclaimed : 'What are you doing ? ' He replied : 'By Allāh ! my guest must not pass the night hungry.' He then gathered some sticks, lighted a fire and began to cook bits of meat arranged on skewers. He then ate with me, and threw (*some morsels*)[1] over to her saying : 'Eat, and may God never give you food ! ! At day-break, he left me and went away ; so, I remained sitting and troubled in mind. When the day was advanced, he returned with a female camel whose beauty the eye would never tire in admiring, and said : 'Take this in place of yours.' He then gave me provisions out of the flesh which remained and of the store which he had in his dwelling. I set out and the night brought me to another tent. I saluted, and the mistress of the tent answered my salutation and said : 'what man are you ?' I answered : 'A guest.' 'Welcome ! ' said she, 'God grant you long life and preserve you ! ' I dismounted ; she took wheat, ground it, kneaded the flour and made it into a cake on which she poured cream and milk. She then placed it before me, saying : 'Eat, and excuse (*this modest repast*). Soon after, a surly-looking Beduin Arab came in and saluted. She rendred the salutation. 'What man are you ?' said he. I answered :

---

1 The civilised Arabs, those who inhabited towns, handed the meat to their guests ; those of the desert threw it to them. See a remarkable instance in Imra al-Qays's *Mu'allaqah*, 10th verse.

'A guest !' He replied : 'What has a guest to do here? He then went in to his family and asked for his supper. She answered: 'I gave it to the guest ' 'How dare you give my supper to a guest?' said he. Many words passed between them, till, at lengh, he raised his stick and struck her on the head so as to wound her. I began to laugh, on which he came out of the tent and asked me why I did so. I replied : 'All right ! (*do not mind)*'. He insisted on knowing and I related to him what had passed between the woman and the man with whom I had stopped the night before. He drew near me and said : 'This woman here is the sister of that man and the woman who lives with him is my sister ! I passed the night wondering (*at these things*) and then went away." Here is an anecdote somewhat similar : "A man, in former times, was eating (*his dinner outside the door of his house*) and had before him a roast fowl. A beggar went up to him, but was sent away disappointed. Now this man was rich. He afterwards divorced his wife, lost his fortune, and the wife got another husband. The second husband was one day at dinner, with a roast fowl before him, when a beggar came up. He said to his wife : 'Give him the fowl.' She did so and, on looking at the stranger, she recognised in him her former husband. She went to her second husband and told him the circumstance, on which he said : 'And I, by Allāh ! was that very beggar whom he sent away disappointed. So his prosperity was turned over to me, by reason of his ingratitude towards God., " The following anecdote was related by al-Haytham : " 'Amr al-Zubaydī the son of Ma'dī Karib[1], had a sword called *al-Ṣamṣāmah* ; and it came into the possession of (*the khalif*) Mūsā al-Hādī, the son of al-Mahdī. 'Amr had given it to Sa'id Ibn al-'Āṣ the Umayyad, from whom it passed to his descendants, on the death of al-Mahdī (*who afterwards got it*), it was purchased by al-Hādī, who paid a large sum for it to the heirs. Al-Hādī was the most liberal of the 'Abbāsid princes and the most beneficent. He drew the sword from the scabbard, laid it before him and gave orders to admit the poets. When they entered, he had a measure

1 For the history of this 'Amr, see the third volume of M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes.*

brought in, containing a *badrah*,[1] and told them to extemporize verses on that sword. Bin Yamīn (*Bengamin*) al-Baṣrī[2]. immediately hastened to recite lines :

"Of all men, Mūsā al-Amīn is he who possesses the Ṣamṣāmah of the Zubaydite, the sword of 'Amr which, as we have heard, is the best, that a scabbard ever sheathed. Dark in colour, it encloses within its sides, a hemlock (*dhubāḥ*) chillness, and, with it, death cares not what she does. The thunderbolt lighted a fire over it and the smiths mingled position with its metal. When bared, it outshines the sun, so that he is scarcely visible. He that draws it for striking need not mind whether his left hand wield it or his right. It dazzles the sight and, like a firebrand (*whirled round*), the eye cannot fix on it. The lustre and the temper which pervade its sides are of the purest water. It is an excellent glaive to strike with (*yu'ṣā*) for him who, in the tumult of battle, fights to maintain his honour ; it is an excellent companion."

Al-Hādī exclaimed (*on hearing these verses*) : "By Allāh ! you have hit on my very thoughts," and, excited by joy, he ordered the sword and the measure of money to be given to the author. Bin Yamīn, on withdrawing, said to the other poets : "Your hopes have been frustrated on my account ; so, here ! take the measure ; the sword is enough for me." Al-Hādī then repurchased it for a large sum. Al-Mas'ūdī states, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that he bought it from the poet for fifty thousand (*dirhams*)[3]. The same author gives only a part of these verses. The word *dhubāḥ* is the name of a poisonous plant which is often mentioned in poems. *Yu'ṣa* (*percutitur*) derives from the verb which is pronounced *'aṣiya* in the preterit and *ya'sī* in the aorist ; it must not be confounded with the verb *aṣā,ya'ṣā*, which means *to commit a sin.* Al-Mas'ūdī has inserted the following relation in that chapter of the *Murūj al-Dhahāb* which treats of the reign of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-

1 A *badrah* was ten thousand dirhams ; about two hundred pounds sterling. Some say that any sum, from one thousand dirhams to ten thousand formed a *badrah.*

2 I can find no information respecting this poet who, to judge from his name, was a Jew and a native of Baṣrah.

3 About one thousand pounds sterling.

Mālik : "Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī states that 'Umar[1] Ibn Hānī related to him as follows: 'I went forth with 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, the uncle of (*the 'Abbāsid khalifs*) al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. When we came to the tomb of (*the Umayyad khalif*) Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, we dug out the body. It was in good preservation and nothing was missing but the cartilage of the nose. 'Abd Allāh gave it eighty strokes of a whip and then had it burnt. We then went to the territory of Dābiq (*near Alleppo*) and opened the grave of Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. There we found nothing more than the back-bone, the skull and the ribs. These we burned, and did the same with the other bodies of the Umayyads who were interred at Qinnisrīn. We then went to Damascus and opened the grave of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, but found in it no remains, either great or small. We dug open the grave of 'Abd al-Malik and found only some bones of the skull. Having then opened the grave of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyāh, we found in it only one bone and remarked, in the place where the body had been deposited, a dark line of a matter like ashes which extended from one end of the cavity to the other. We then visited successively the other *Umayyad* tombs situated in different countries and burned whatever remains we found in them." The motive which induced 'Abd Allāh to treat thus the bodies of the Umayyads was this : Zayd, the son of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (*No. 397*) and the grandson of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the same Zayd of whom we have spoken in the life of the Wazir Ibn Baqiyyah (*No.* 672), took up arms against Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and aspired to the khalifate. A number of *sharīfs* and *Qur'ān*-readers followed his standard. He was attacked by Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, a chief whose life we shall give, and his partisans were put to rout. He remained (*on the field of battle*) with a few friends and, whilst fighting with the utmost bravery, he recited the following lines, as applicable to his own case :

"I'ts vile to live and hard to die ; a bitter draught each of them is for me. But, since I must submit to one or to the other, I shall honourably march towards my death".

---

1 The edition of Būlāq reads *Mu'ammar.*

The night separated the two armies and Zayd returned (*to his tent*) covered with wounds. An arrow had stuck him on the forehead, and a barber-surgeon, who was brought from a (*neighbouring*) town to extract the iron point, drew it out without knowing who the wounded man was ; for this he concealed from him. Zayd expired immediately after and was buried by his partisans in the bed of a running stream. They covered his grave with earth and weeds, and let the water (*resume its course and*) flow over it. The barber was present at the interment and, wishing to gain the favour of Yūsuf, he went, the next morning, and informed him of the place where the grave was. Yūsuf had the body taken out, and sent the head to Hishām who, in return, wrote to him the order to strip the body naked and fasten it to a cross. This was done. A poet in the service of the Umayyads composed a verse on this occasion and, in it he said, addressing the descendants of Abū Ṭālib :

"We have crucified that Zayd of yours on the trunk of a date-tree ; and I never yet saw a man who was well-guided attached to the trunk of a tree".

The lower part of this cross was then encased in masonry[1]. At a later period, Hishām wrote to Yūsuf, ordering him to burn the body and scatter the ashes to the winds. This took place in the year 121 (A. C. 739) or 122. According to Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ayyāsh (*No. 237*) and a number of the persons who related historical anecdotes, Zayd's naked body remained on the cross for five years, and no one, during that period, ever saw the privy parts of it ; God, in His favour to Zayd, having veiled them from sight. It was in the *Kunāsah*[2] of Kūfah that the body was crucified. When Yaḥyā, the son of Zayd, made his appearance in Khurāsān, this event was well-known[3]; al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd, who was then reigning, wrote to the governar of Kūfah the order to burn the body of

1 The text has : and he built a column underneath the wood, or beam.

2 The word *kunāsah* signifies a place where the dirt and sweepings of a town are deposited.

3 See Price's *Retrospect* of *Mahommadan history*. vol. I, pages 570-572.

Zayd with the wood to which it was attached. This he did and then scattered the ashes to the wind, on the back of the Euphrates, God best knows which is the true account. It was to avenge his cousins that 'Abd Allāh treated the Umayyads in the same manner as they had treated the descendents of 'Alī. The following anecdote was related by al-Haytham : 'I was appointed to collect the cattle-tax due by the Banū Fazārah, and a man of that tribe came to me and said : 'Shall I shew you something extraordinary?' I answered : 'Yes', and he lead me to a high mountain in which there was an opening. He bid me enter, but I replied that the guide should always go first. He went in, I followed and a number of people came after us. The (*passage in the*) mountain sometimes got narrow and sometimes widened, till we at length saw a light. We went up to it, and behold a crevice stretched across the ground and javelins were sticking in the sides of the cavern[1]. We drew them out and found them to be the arrows made use of by (*an extinct giant race, that of*) 'Ād. On the rock was engraved an inscription, the letters of which were of two fingers' length, or perhaps more. The writing was Arabic, and the inscription ran thus :

"Small we ever return[2] to the dwellings at the foot of Dhu 'l-Liwā, the Liwā of the sands, and thus be assured that our hearts spoke us true. That country was ours and we loved it ; for men are men, and a home is always a home".

It is related that Abū Nuwās Ibn Hānī, the poet of whom we have spoken (*No. 162*), went to one of the (*literary*) sittings which al-Haytham had begun to hold. The latter, not recognizing him, did not invite him to approach nor offer him a nearer place. So, the other rose up in a passion (*and went away*). Al-Haytham asked who he was and, having heard his name, he exclaimed : "God preserve me ! this is a calamity which I did not mean to draw upon myself. Rise up and let us go after him, that we may offer him our excuses". On reaching the poet's door, he knocked and mentioned who he was. Being told by the other to enter, he

1 Literally : In the mountain.
2 Literally : Shall there ever be a return.

went in and found him sitting (*on the floor*), and straining *nabīdh*[1] The house itself was arranged in a manner befitting a (*debauchee*) like him. Al-Haytham then said : "The granting of pardon belongs to God and afterwards to you. By Allāh ! I did not recognize you ; but the fault was yours, because you neglected mentioning your name. You thus prevented us from showing you fitting respect and treating you with due regard". Seeing that Abū Nuwās appeared to accept his excuses, he added : "I beg of you to spare me (*and suppress*) whatever verses you may have just composed on me". The post replied : "There is no means of recalling the past, but you have the assurance (*that*) for the future (*I shall not attack you*) ! On this al-Haytham said : "Tell me what is the past, and my life shall be the ransom of yours"! He answered: "It is a verse which I uttered during the state (*of irritation*) in which you may perceive me still to be". Al-Haytham requested him to repeat it and, on his refusal, he insisted so much that he obtained his wish. The poet recited as follows :

"Haytham, the son of 'Adī : you are not of the Arabian stock and it is only indirectly[2] that you belong to the tribe of Ṭay. When you make (*of your father*) 'Adī a descendant of Thu'al, place the *d* of his name before the *'ayn*, in tracing up his genealogy[3]".

Al-Haytham rose up and left him, but some time after, the remaining verses of the piece came to his knowledge. Here they are :

"Haytham, the son of 'Adī, is so changeable in mind that every day, he sets his foot in the stirrup. He is always saddling and unsaddling (*his camel*) for a journey to visit a (*rich*) enfranchised slave or an Arab. He has a tongue excited (*to elequence*) by his natural genius[4] ; one would think he had always travelled (*like an Arab of the desert*) upon a camel's pillion. I should like to see him set up on the bridge and mounted on a steed (*a cross*)

1 See *No. 129n.*

2 The Arabic words are على شغب , which I render by conjecture.

3 The word *da'ī* signifies : counterfeit. bastard.

4 Here, and in some other passages of the same piece, I translate by conjecture.

nearly as worthless as himself. O that I saw him covering that steed with a raiment of blood, to replace the filaments and leaves (*which covered it before*). God help thee! (*simpleton!*) you need not be so proud of your parentage; (*to support your pretensions*) you borrowed a genealogy from books."

On this, al-Haytham returned to Abū Nuwās and said: "Good God! did you not give me the assurance and the promise that you would not satirize me?" The other answered (*in these words of the Qur'ān,* sūrah xxvi, verse 226). "They (*the poets*) say that which they do not". The anecdotes concerning al-Haytham are very numerous, but we have already given sufficient details. He was born before the year 130 (A.C. 747), and he died on the 1st of Muḥarram, 206 (6th June, A.C. 821), or 207, according to another statement. Ibn Qutaybah's *Ma'ārif* places his death in the year 209. He left posterity at Baghdād. Al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) says, in his (*Ansāb*), under the word *al-Buḥturī,* that he died A.H. 209 at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, aged Ninety-three years. Another author adds that he died at the house of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No 169*). We have already mentioned, in the life of Būrān (*No. 117*), that her marriage with al-Māmūn took place at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, in that year. From this it appears that al-Haytham was one of the company which he had with him. We have already spoken of Ṭay (*No. 143*) and (*shall speak*) of *Buḥturī*. *Thu'ali* means *descended from Thu'al* the son of 'Amr, the son of al-Ghawth the son of Ṭay. The rest of the genealogy will be found in our article on al-Buḥturī, under the letter *W*. A number of families descended from Ṭay bore the surname of *Thu'ali*; such were the Buḥturī, the Salāmān and others. To the tribe of Thu'al belonged 'Amr Ibn al-Masiḥ* al-Thu'alī (*the chief*) who accompanied one of the deputations sent by the Arab tribes to the Prophet. He became a Muslim at Madīnah, being then one hundred and fifty years of age. He was the best archer of all the Arabs. It is to him that the poet Imra al-Qays Ḥunduj al-Kindi, the son of Ḥujr, alludes in this verse:

"Sometimes an archer of the tribe of Thu'al, thursting out his hands from his hiding place[1]."

---

1 See my *Diwan d' Amrollkais,* page 56.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives 'al-Musabbiḥ' and remarks in a footnote that *al-Masīh* is a distorted reading.—Ed.

This is one of the arguments adduced by Ibn Qutaybah, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, to prove that Imra al-Qays lived about forty years before the Prophet ; for such is the conclusion announced by that author.

754 WĀṢIL IBN 'AṬĀ

Abū Ḥudhayfah Wāṣil Ibn 'Atā, the Mū'tazilite, known also by the name of al-Ghazzāl, was a *mawlā* to the tribe of Ḍubbah or, by another statement, to the tribe of Makhzūm. He was one of those great masters of the Arabic language[1] who discoursed on scholastic theology (*kalām*) and other sciences. He lisped in pronouncing the letter *r* (*ra*' and thus made of it a *gh* (*ghayn)*. Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) mentions him in the *Kāmil* and speaks of him in these terms : "Waṣil Ibn 'Aṭā was really a wonderful man. He had a horrid lisp in pronouncing the letter *r* and, for that reason he never, in speaking, made use of words wherein it occurred. No one perceived the (*difficulty he had to surmount*), such was his mastery over the language and the fluency of his pronunciation." Alluding to this, a Mu'tazilite poet named Abu 'l-Ṭurūq al-Ḍabbī, said in praise of the talent with which Wāṣil made speeches without employing the *r*, a letter which presents itself very frequently in discourse and which was (*for him*) as if it did not exist :

"Skilled (*'alīm*) in replacing one letter by another, and surpassing every preacher, whose vain (*doctrines*) were (*thus)* over come by the truth.[2]" And another poet said, on the same subject :

"When speaking of wheat (*burr*) he employs (*the word) qamḥ*, and, in his enmity to the *r.* he manages adroitly to express *in other letters the words) shi'ar (poetry*). He never says *maṭar*

1 Literally : He was one of the eloquent *imāms*.

2 The meaning of the last hemistich may perhaps have escaped the translator.

(*rain*), even in the haste of speech, but comes out with (*the word*) *ghayth* ; so greatly he fears the rain (*maṭar*)".

It is related that he said, in speaking of Bashshār Ibn Burd (*No. 110*): "Is there no one who will kill that blind fellow surnamed Abū Mu'ādh ? By Allāh ! if treachery were not a characteristic of the Shi'ites, I should send a person to cut open his belly whilst he is on his couch. Then he would (*no longer*) be a Sadūside or an 'Uqaylide." He said *this blind fellow* (*a'mā*) to avoid saying *Bashshār* and *Ḍarīr*, instead of *Mughiriyah* or *Mānṣūriyah* (*the names of Shi'ite sects*), he employed the word *Ghāliyah* (i. e. *extravagants, the name of another Shi'ite sect*); being unwillieg to say *arsalt* (*which means* I should send), he chose the word *ba'atht*, and instead of *marqad* (*sleeping-place*) or of *farāsh* (*bed*), he made use of the word *muhja'* (*couch*) ; to avoid saying *yabqar* (*split open*), he employed the term *yab'aj* (*burst*) ; he brought in the 'Uqaylides and the Sadūsides because Bashshār was a *mawlā* to the first mentioned of these tribes and had dwelt for some time with the second. Al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) states, in his *Ansāb*, under the title *Mu'tazilī*, that Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā used to go and sit with[1] al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*No. 148*), but disputes having arisen (*concerning the dogmas of the faith*), the Khārijites taught that who ever committed a great sin was an infidel (*and deserved to be put to death*) ; whilst the general opinion of the Muslims was that such a man was a true believer, though guily of a heinous sin. On this Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā left both parties, declaring that a wicked man of the Muslim community was neither a believer nor an infidel, but held a middle station between the two. This made al-Ḥasan expel him from his school[2]. Wāṣil, having seceded (*mu'tazal*) from him, got for a pupil[3] 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd (*No. 478*) These two and their followers received the nickname of *Mu'tazilites* (*seceder*). This is the passage to which I referred in my article on 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd, in case the reader wished to know the signification and origin of the term Mu'tazilite. In my notice of

---

1 The expression خلس الى "to go and sit near" a person, signifies, probably, to attend his lessons.

2 Literally ; from the place where he held his sitting (*majlis*).

3 Literally : a by-sitter.

Qatādah Ibn Di'amha al-Sadūsi (*No. 516)*, I mentioned that it was he who gave them this name. Wāṣil's skill in avoiding the letter *r* became proverbial, and poets have often alluded to it in their verses. It is thus that Abū Muḥāmmad al-Khāzin[1] said, in a high-sounding *qaṣīdah* composed in praise of the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 93*) :

Truly, on the day of gifts (*'aṭā*), he avoids saying the word no, and that with as much care as Ibn 'Aṭā avoids the letter *r*.

Another poet said of a person whom he loved and who lisped :

"Lisp (*to me*) that *r* again ; (*it sounds too sweetly*) that, if Wāṣil was present and heard it, he would never again suppress the *r*."

By another :

"Do you treat my love as you treat the letter *r*, which you (*avoid and)* never utter ; you have rejected me as if you were Wāṣil."

How admirably said ! how beautiful the expression : *you have rejected me as if you were Wāṣil*[2] ! Another poet has said :

"Treat me not like the *alif of union (ḥamzah wāṣil)*[3] ; I should then *(like it)*, be rejected ! treat me not as Wāṣil did the *r*."

The celebrated Spanish poet, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn Hārūn al-Kindī al-Ramādī[4], who died A.H. 403 (A.C. 1013), is the author

1 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad, surnamed al-Khāzin (*the treasurer, or librarian*), was one of the most distinguished poets of Iṣbahān. The Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād treated him with great favour, chose him for his librarian and admitted him into his parties of pleasure. After some time, Abū Muḥammad left him in a moment of anger and continued, during a few years, to lead a straggling life in 'Irāq, in Syria and in Ḥijāz. He afterwards rejoined the Ṣaḥib at Jurjān. Al-Tha'ālibī, who furnishes these indications, gives, in his *Yatīmah* several pieces of verse composed by al-Khāzin ; but does not indicate the year of his death, which probably occurred before the beginning of the fifth century of the hijrah (A. C. 1010).

2 Our author admires this hemistich because it bears another meaning, namely : as if you meant to take me into favour.

3 The letter called the *alif of union* is elided in the pronunciation.

4 *No. 821* contains an article on the poet al-Ramādī. He entered into a conspiracy against the wazīr Abū 'Āmir al-Manṣūr, who was then all-powerful in Cordova. For his adventures, see M. Dozy's *Historie des Musalmans d' Espagne*, tome III, p. 172 et. seq.

of the following lines, in which however, he makes no allusion to Wāṣil :

"Neither the *r* nor I can hope to obtain your favour ; being rejected (*by you,*) the same misfortune unites us before and (*in that*) we are equal. When I was alone, I wrote it on the palm of my hand and remained sighing, both I and it[1]"

This is a subject so vast that we cannot go on with it any farther ; and the examples which we have given are quite sufficient. A great number of verses have been composed by poets on the defect of pronunciation by which the letter *s* is converted into *th* (or *ts*). Here, for instance, is a piece attributed to Abū Nuwās (*No. 162*) ; though it is not to be found in his collected poetical works. It may probably have been transmitted down orally by 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī[2] who knew by heart and taught to others a great number of poems. The verses are remarkable for their elegance and sweetness :

"I asked that tender fawn (*maiden*) what was her name, and she answered : 'Mirdās.'* When the night came on, she handed me a cup of wine and said : '(*Fear not* !) the people are asleep. See how beautiful the garlands which crown us ! the jasmine and the myrtle contribute to adorn them.' On hearing her lisp, I also became a lisper and said 'Where is the pitcher and the wine-cup.[3]' "

If I undertook to give here every piece of this kind, I should be led very far. There are, however, but few which allude to the lisping of the letter *r*, and therefore shall insert the following :

1 I do not know what the poet means by this verse which I may, perhaps, have misunderstood.

2 Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah of Iṣbahān, composed a work on eminent Persians and published editions of the poetical works left by Abū Tammām, Abū Nuwās and al-Buḥturī. Ḥāji Khalīfah places his death in the year 356 (A.C. 966-7). This was also the year in which took place the death of Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī Ibn *al-Ḥusayn* of Iṣbahān, the author of the *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, (*No.* 415). Professor Flugel considers them to be one and the same person.

3 In the text of this piece, every *s* of the dialogue is replaced by *th*.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : 'Abāth.—Ed.

"I swear by the whiteness of my beloved's teeth ! by the beauty-spot like point on the kha (خ) which is seen on her cheek when the ringlet is turned aside ! that her Mawṣilian lisp has fascinated me. The love it inspires has cast me into a swollen see (*of passion*). The cheeks of that fair one who speaks with a foreign accent are shaded by scorpions (*ringlets*) empowered to sting me alone. When she speaks, the deafest of the deaf hearken to the tuneful lisping of her words. She says to me, when I kiss her shining mouth, for it is she whom I love and who grants me all I wish for,—(*she says*) when the cup of ebriety is emptied and the tint of the wine displays is fairest colours on her cheeks : 'Go on gently ! for the inebriating liquor which you sip from the vine of my lips will only add intoxication to intoxication[1].' "

This poet has well expressed the thought. In the last verse are a great number of *rs* which have been replaced by *ghs*. Al-Khubzāruzzī, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 733*), composed the following piece on a girl who lisped the *r*, but he does not indicate this lisp except in the last word of the verse.

"At al-Karkh is a fawn who speaks with a lisp and lisping is a quality which I require (*in a mistress)*. How like is her waist to that of the wasp ! it is even as thin as the scorpion (*ringlet pendent)* on her cheek. Her lips enclose a theriac which heals the sting, when its violence burns my heart. If I say when embracing her : 'May my life be the ransom of thine ! Dic mihi ; ubi est *(mentula)* ?' she replies 'I do not know."[2]

One word has brought on another and diverted us from our subject, namely, the history of Wāṣil Ibn 'Āṭā. His neck was so long that people reproached him for it as fault and Bashshār Ibn Burd composed on it the following verses.

"Why should I be plagued with a *ghazzāl* (*a cottonspinner)* whose neck is like that of an ostrich in the desert, whether he stays or goes away ? That cameleopard's neck of yours, what do you

---

1 The last verse, if correctly written, should run thus :

ترفق فشرف الخمر من كرم ريقتى ، يز يدك عندالشرب * سكر اعلى سكر

2 She said *mā'adghī* instead of *mā adrī*.

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd شكر اعلى شكر .

mean with it ? I mind it not. You call those men infidels who declared a certain man *(i.e. you)* to be so[1]."

Those two persons had a great dislike for each other and proofs of their mutual jealousy are very numerous ; we have already mentioned what Wāṣil said of Bashshār. Al-Mubarrad informs us, in his *Kāmil*, that Wāṣil was not a spinner (*ghazzāl*), but that he received this surname because he frequented the cotton-spinners for the purpose of discovering poor and virtuous females to whom he might distribute alms. He then adds : "Wāṣil had a very long neck, and it is related that 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd said, before making his acquaintance. No good can come of that man as long as he has such a neck." Wāṣil composed a number of works, such as a treatise on the different sects of the Murjiyans[2], another on the repenting of one's sins, another entitled the *Intermediate station*, another containing pious discourses in which the letter *r* was not to be found, another on the *Ma'anī* or rhetorical figures of the *Qur'ān*, another consisting of discourses on the unity of God and on justice (*free-will*) a recital of what passed between him and 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd, a guide to the knowledge of the truth (*as Sabīl ilā ma'rifat al-Ḥaqq*, a treatise on the *Da'wah or doctrines*) professed by him), a classified list (*ṭabāqāt*) of the learned and the ignorant, etc. The anecdotes related of him are very numerous. He was born in Madīnah, A.H. 80 (A.C 699-700), and he died in the year 131 (A.C. 748-9)[3].

755 WATHĪMAH IBN MŪSĀ

Abū Yazīd Wathīmah, the son of Mūsā, the son of al-Furāt, bore the surnames of al-Washshā, al-Fārisī al-Fasawī (*the silk-mercer, native of the town of Fasā in Persia*). Having proceeded

1 This is an allusion to the doctrine professed by Wāṣil and already indicated by our author.

2 See Sale's preliminary discourse to his translation of the *Qur'ān*, section VIII.

3 The edition of Bulāq and one of my Manuscripts offer the date 181 as that of Wāṣil's death. It does not appear to be acceptable ; that given in the other manuscripts and in the *Nujūm* is probably the true one, and, as such, is adopted here.

from his native place to Baṣrah, he went from that to Egypt, whence he travelled as a merchant to Spain. He dealt in silk brocades. In a work composed by him on the history of the great apostasy (*riddah*), he mentions the *(Arabian)* tribes which apostatized on the death of the Prophet, and gives an account of the expeditions sent against them by *(the Khalif)* Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He relates also the manner in which the war was carried on, and gives an account of what passed between these insurgents and the Musulmāns. He mentions in it also the tribes which returned to the true faith, the attacks directed against those who refused to pay the (*zakat or tithe on cattle*), and relates all that took place between Khālid Ibn al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī and Mālik Ibn Nuwayrah al-Yarbū'i, on whose death some well-known elegies were composed by his brother Mutammim. In this work he relates the manner in which Mālik was killed. and gives the text of the poems composed by Mutammim and others on that event. It is a good work and contains much useful information. We have already mentioned, in the life of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Wāqidī *(No. 618)*, that he also composed a good work on the apostasy. I do not know if Wathīmah wrote any other work than the one I have spoken of; but he acquired a great reputation. Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn al-Faraḍī (*No. 326*) speaks of him in his (*biographical*) history of Spain; the *ḥāfiz* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (*No. 590*) mentions him in the *Judhwat al-Muqtabis*, Abū Sa'id Ibn Yūnus *(No. 334)* in his History of Egypt, and Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*), in his *Ansāb*, under the word *Washshā*. He there says: "He dealt in *washī*, which is a stuff made of silk." A number of persons have borne this surname, one of whom was the Wathīmah here mentioned. Wathīmah returned from Spain to Egypt, and died in Old Cairo on Monday, the 10th of the first Jumādā, 237 (9th November, A. C. 851). Abū Sa'īd Ibn Yūnus says, in his History, that Wathīmah left a son whose name was Abū Rifā'ah 'Umārah Ibn Wathīmah, and who taught Traditions on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Layth Ibn Sa'd's secretary[1], on that of his own

1 Our auther (*No*, 523) declares al-Layth Ibn Sa'd to have been an exact and trustworthy Traditionist; but I must say that many of the historical tradi-

(*Continued on page* 150)

father and on that of other Traditionists. A history in the form of annals was composed by him. He was born in Old Cairo, and he died on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of the latter Jumādā, 28 (4th June, A. C. 902). *Wathīmah means a heap of harbs or of provisions* ; it signifies also a *rock* and is employed as a proper name for men. It means also the *stone made use of to strike fire.* The Arabs say, in one of their oaths : "By him who brought forth the *'adhq* from the *jarīmah* and fire from the *wathīmah* ! *'Adhq* (عذق) means a *date-tree*, and *jarimaha date-kernel.* We have spoken of the word *Fasawī* in the life of Abū 'Alī al-Fārsī (*No. 155*), and that of Arslan al-Basāsīrī (*No. 78*), so we need not repeat our observations here. Having mentioned the names of Mālik and of his brother Mutammim, I feel obliged to give here a sketch of their history, which is very interesting. Mālik Ibn Nuwayrah was one of those princely-minded, and eminent men who acted as *radīfs* (*lieutenants*) to kings[1]. *Radīfs* were of two sorts : one rode behind the prince and on the same camel, when they went out to hunt, or to any place of amusement. The office of the second was much more eminent; when the prince held a court of justice, and happened to quit his seat, the *radīf* took his place and judged between the contending parties. This Mālik is the same whose name occurs in the proverbial expression ; *A pasture-ground, but not like that of al-Sa'dān; a source, but not like that of Ṣaddā, and a hero, but not like Mālik. He was a* gallant cavalier, a poet, a chief devotedly obeyed by his tribe ; full of audacity and bravery, so remarkable for his thick head of hair that he was designated by the epithet of *Jafūl* (*hairy-head*). When the Arabian tribes sent deputations to the Prophet, he was one of those who went and, having embraced the Muslim religion, he was nominated by the Prophet collector of the alms-tax (*ṣadaqah*) payable by his tribe. When the Arabs apostatized, after the death of the Prophet, by their refusing to pay the tax, Mālik did as the others. On the appointment of Abū Bakr to the khalifate, Khālid

---

(*Continued from page* 149)
tions given on his authority by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, in his history of the conquest of Egypt, are evidently false.

1 These kings were probably the phylarchs of 'Irāq and of Syria.

Ibn al-Walīd marched against the rebels and halted at the place where Mālik was[1]. This chief had already gathered in the tax imposed on his tribe, the Banū Yarbū', and appropriated it to his own use. Khālid spoke to him on the subject and received this answer : "I fulfil the duty of prayer but shall not pay the tax." "Do you not know," said Khālid "that prayer and the payment of this tax go together ? one will not be accepted without the other." Mālik answered : "Was it your master who said that ?" Khālid replied : "Do you not consider him to be your master also? by Allāh ! I have a great mind to strike off your head." Then, after long altercation, Khālid said : I shall take your life." "Is that also the order which your master gave you ? said Mālik. "Do you say that after what you have already said ?" exclaimed Khālid ; "by Allāh ! I shall take your life !" 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (*No. 243n.*), and Abū Qatādah the Anṣār[2] were persent at this scene and remonstrated with Khālid but he would not hearken to them. Mālik then said : "O Khālid ! send us to Abū Bakr and let him judge between us ; you have already done so for others who were more culpable than we." Khālid answered : May God never forgive me my sins, if I do not kill you !" He then ordered Ḍirār Ibn al-Azwar al-Asadī to strike off his head. On this, Mālik turned towards his wife, Umm Mutamim, and said to Khālid : "There is the person who costs me my life." She was, indeed, extremely beautiful. Khālid replied : "Not at all ! It is God who slays you for abandoning Islāmism." Mālik declared that he was a Muslim. "Ḍirār !" said Khālid, "strike off his head". This was done and the head was put in the place of one of the three stones which supported the flesh-pot. Mālik, as we have said, surpassed most men by the abundance of his hair, which was so thick, that the meat was cooked in the pot before the fire had reached the skull. Ibn al-Kalbī (*No. 749*). states, in his *Jamharah*, that Mālik was put

---

1 The history of Mālik is given in a much more satisfactory manner by M. Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai sur l' histoire des Arabes*.

2 Al-Ḥārith Ibn Rabī' surnamed Abū Qatādah and one of the bravest horsemen in the service of Muḥammad, was a native of Madīnah. He died, A. H. 54 (A. C. 673-4) (*Nujūm*).

to death on the day of al-Biṭāḥ[1]. His brother Mutamim escaped and composed elegies on his death. Khālid seized on the wife of Mālik, or by another account he purchased her out of the booty, and married her. It is said that he allowed her to wait till she had thrice her periodical infirmity, and then obtained her consent to marry him. He invited Ibn 'Umar and Abū Qatādah to the wedding, but they refused, and the former said to him : "I shall write to Abū Bakr and relate to him what has passed." Khālid was inflexible and married her. This induced Abū Nuhayr*[2] al-Sa'dī to compose the following lines :

"Say to the tribe whom the horsemen trampled under foot : How long this night appears after the death of Mālik ! He was treated with iniquity on account of his wife, and Khālid, who committed the crime, was in love with her long before. He executed his purpose without endeavouring to rein in his passion and control it. He thus became a married man, and Mālik, who perished as all things must, was reduced to nothing. Who now remains after him to protect the widows and the orphans ? Who is there... now to aid the poor and the destitute ? The Tamimides[3], from the highest to the lowest[4], have received a fatal stroke in the person of their cavalier, him on whom they fixed their hopes, him with the slender shoulders[5].

When intelligence of this event reached Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the latter said to the former : "Khālid has committed adultery ; order him to be lapidated." Abū Bakr replied : "I cannot allow him to be lapidated ; he only interpreted wrong (his orders)." "But," said 'Umar, "he has killed a Muslim." "I cannot put him to death for that," said the other : "he only interpreted wrong (*his orders*)." "Then deprive him of his commandment," said 'Umar. "No," replied Abū Bakr, "I shall never sheath a sword

1 See M. Caussin's *Essai*, etc., tome III p. 366.

2 I follow the reading offered by the manuscript 702 and the autograph of the Annals of Abu 'l-Feda.

3 Mālik's tribe, the Yarbū', was a branch of the great tribe of Tamīm.

4 Literally : their fat and their lean.

5 The two last words vary in the printed editions and the manuscripts. I read شرحت الحوارك .

* 'Zuhayr' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

which God drew against the wicked." Such is the relation given of this affair in the book composed by Wathīmah and in that of al-Waqidī. and let them be answerable for its turth. Mutamim Ibn Nuwayrah, the brother of Mālik, bore the surname of Abū Nahshal, and was celebrated as a poet. He seldom stirred out of his house (*or tent*), and troubled himself little about his own affairs, becuase he relied on his brother. He was deformed in body and had lost an eye. When he was informed of Mālik's death, he went to the Mosque of the Prophet (*at Madīnah*) and, having taken his place behind Abū Bakr, he said (*with him*) the morning prayer. When the khalif, who was in the *miḥrab* turned round (*to the congregation*), Mutammim stood up and, leaning on the extremity of his bow, recited these lines :

"He was truly admirable when the winds howled about the tents, he who was slain by you, Ibn al-Azwar! You invited him in God's name and you betrayed him ; had he invited you, under the safeguard of his honour, he would not have betrayed."

(*On pronouncing these last words*), he pointed to Abū Bakr who exclaimed : "By Allāh ! I never invited him nor ever betrayed him." The poet continued thus :

"Admirable he was, either sheathed in mail or unarmed ! How excellent a retreat was his dwelling for the benighted traveller who perceived the light of his fire ! Under his dress he concealed no turpitude ; he was, in disposition, mild, and in conduct, chaste."

He then wept and, ceasing to lean upon his bow, he sat down and lamented so bitterly that tears flowed from his blind eye. 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb went up to him and said : " I wish you had composed such an elegy as that on the death of my brother Zayd." Mutammim answered : "O Abū Ḥafṣ ! if I thought that my brother had gone to the place where yours is now, I should not lament his death." On this, 'Umar said : "Never, since I lost Zayd, did any man give me sweeter consolation than Mutammim." Zayd, the son of al-Khaṭṭāb, fell a martyr in the battle of al-Yamāmah[1]. 'Umar used to say : "I

1 See M. Caussin's *Essai*, tome III, p. 371.

enjoy the breath of the zephyr because it blows from the spot where Zayd reposes." It is stated that 'Umar said to Mutammim : " If I could make verses on the death of my brother, they should be like what you made on the death of yours " It is stated that Mutammim had composed an elegy on Zayd, but did not well succeed; so, 'Umar said to him : Why was your elegy on the death of Zayd so different from that which you composed on Mālik ?" The poet answered : "By Allāh ! I was moved to lament Mālik for motives which did not lead me to lament Zayd." 'Umar said to him one day : You are really a man of judgment ; how was your brother, compared with you" ? He replied : My brother would mount a thafāl *(slow-paced)* camel, in a thundering (*aziz*) and cloudy *(ṣurrād)* night leading by the bridle a restive horse (*jarūr*) and carrying in his hand a havy spear. On his shoulders was a small cloak (*falūt*) and, on each side of him, a provision bag (*mazādah*), and he would ride on till morning with a smile on his face." The word aziz (ازيز) signifies *the sound of thunder* ; *ṣarrād* (صراد) means *a thin cloud in which there is no water ; thafāl* (ثفال) *is a slow-paced camel*, so heavy that it can hardly walk ; *jarūr* (جرور) is *a horse which disobeys the rein* ; a *falut* (فلوت) cloak is *one which scarcely holds on the person who wears it* ; *mazadah* (مزاده) is the *water-bag*, as is well-known. Another day, 'Umar said to him : "Tell me something concerning your brother ;" and he answered thus : "Commander of the faithful ! I was once taken prisoner by a tribe of Arabs, and my brother, being informed of what had happened, came to them. When they saw him appear, every one stood up, and every woman of the tribe peeped out through the openings of the tents. He had not time to get off his camel when they lead me up to him, cord and all, (literally : *with my rummah*), and it was he who untied me." There, said 'Umar, "was true nobility ! " A *rummah* is a *worn out cord* ; from it is derived the expression : t*o give* a man *a thing with its rummah.* It originated in a man's giving to another a camel with a halter on its neck, and was then employed to denote the gift of a thing with all belonging to it. Mutammim said, another day, to 'Umar : "A tribe of Arabs attacked the tribe of my brother whilst he was absent. When the alarm reached him, he sallied forth and

followed their foot-steps. He had with him a camel which he rode or drove before him alternately, and he overtook them after travelling three (*nights*). At the moment they thought themselves out of danger, he appeared unexpectedly. When they saw him, they fled away, abandoning their prisoners and booty. My brother overtook them, and they all surrendered, so that he had only to tie their hands behind their backs and lead them to his own country." On this, 'Umar said ; "We heared of his beneficence and his bravery, but we knew nothing of what you have just related." One of the elegies composed by him on Mālik is of singular beauty ; it rhymes in *k* and is to be found in that section of the *Ḥamāsah*[1] which contains the elegiac poems. Here it is :

"My companion blamed me for weeping over every tomb and shedding floods of tears. 'Why weep you over every tomb you see ? Is it for (*the recollection*) of that tomb which lies between al-Liwā and al-Dakādik ? ' I answered : 'Sighs beget sighs ; so, let me weep ! for all these are (*for me*) as the tomb of Mālik. ' "

In a *qaṣidah* of considerable length and beauty, the rhyme of which is formed by the letter *'ayn*, the same poet says :

"For a long time we were like the two boon companions of Ja<u>dh</u>īmah ; so that it was said of us 'They will never be separated ! ' We led a life of happiness, but before us, death attained the families of Chosroes and of Tubba. When separated, the long. time which I passed with Mālik seemed to me as short as a single night."

As the reader of this book may desire some information respecting Ja<u>dh</u>īmah and his two boon companions, I shall speak of them here. *Ja<u>dh</u>imah*, for so his name must be pronounced, belonged to the family of al-Azd, and bore the surname of Abū Mālik. He was the son of Mālik, the son of Fahm, the son of Daws, the son of al-Azd. Ḥīrah and the neighbouring country acknowledged his authority. People called him *the speckled (al-Abrash)* or *the spotted with white (al-Waḍḍāh)* because he was

1 See Freytags *Ḥāmāsah*, page 370.

a leper. The Arabs abstained from giving him the surname of the *leper*, through fear of offending him, and therefore designated him by one or the other of the former terms. He was one of the provincial kings, and lived about thirty years after Jesus[1]. So great was his pride that he would have no other boon companions than the two stars called *al-Farqadān*[2]. His sister had a son named 'Amr, the son of 'Adī the Lakhmide, who was the son of Naṣr, the son of Rabī'ah, the son of al-Ḥārith, the son of Mālik, the son of 'Adī, surnamed 'Amam, because he was the first who wore a turban (*'imāmah*), the son of Numārah, the son of Lakhm. The rest of the genealogy is well known[3]. The name of Jadhīmah's sister was Riqāsh. Her son, for whom Jadhīmah had a great affection, was spirited away by the genii, and his uncle searched for him a long time without finding him. There were two brothers of the tribe of al-Qayn, one of whom was named Mālik and the other 'Aqīl. Their father's name was Fārih* the son of Mālik, the son of Ka'b, the son of al-Qayn, whose true name was al-Nu'mān, the son of Jasr, the son of Shay Allāh. These two found 'Amr in the desert, with his hair dishevelled, his nails grown to a great length and his appearance miserable. They knew him and brought him to his uncle, after arranging his hair and attiring him decently. Jadhīmah was so overjoyed at seeing him that he told them to ask whatever reward they pleased, and they said: "Let us be your boon companions as long as you and we live." He answered: That I grant to you." These were the two boon companions whose reputation became proverbial. It is said that they were Jadhīmah's constant guests during forty years and that they never, in all that period, repeated to him a story which

---

1 According to M. Caussin de Perceval, this prince lived in the third century of our era (*Essai*, tome II, p. 16).

2 The Farqadān are the stars Β and Υ of Ursa minor. We read in the *Essai* of M. Caussin de Preceval: "II, avait chait choisi pourses convives deux etoiles appelees *El-Farcadani*; et, chaque fois qu'oil prenait la coupe, on en remplissait en meme temps deux autres, dont il faisait des libation a ces etoiles." (*Tome* II, p. 18).

3 It is given by M, Caussin in his *Essai*.

* 'Fārij' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

they had already told him. It is to them that Abū Khirāsh the Hudhaylite[1] alludes in these verses, taken from an elegy composed by him on his brother 'Urwah :

"(*The calumniator*) says : 'I see that he disports himself since the death of 'Urwah ; and that, as you must know, is highly detrimental (*to himself*') ; (I answered) : 'Think not that I have ceased to remember the days I passed with him ; know, Umaymah ; that I support (*my sorrow*) with becoming patience. Hast thou heard that, before our time, two sincere boon companions were separated, Mālik and 'Aqīl ? "

This summary account of their history is rather long, and yet I aimed at being concise. Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (*No.* 92) says, in the treatise which he designed as supplement to his *Amālī*, that Mutammim went up to 'Umar, who admired him greatly, and that 'Umar said : "Tell me, Mutammim ! what hinders you from marrying ? God may perhaps raise children from that alliance, for you belong to a family which is on the point of becoming extinct." The poet, in consequence, married a woman of Madīnah, but he was not happy with her, nor she with him, so he divorced her and then said :

"I say to Hind, when displeased with her discernment[2] : Does your conduct proceed from the coquetry of love, or do you hate me ? Do you wish for a separation ? and certainly, to separate from any (*whom I love*) is now, for me, but slightly painful, since Mālik has departed (*from the world*)."

'Umar said to him : "You will never cease thinking of Mālik ! " and, soon after, he received his mortal wound. Mutammim, who was then in Madīnah, composed an elegy on his death. In a word, it has never been handed down that an Arab or any other person ever wept for the loss of a friend as much as Mutammim did for that of his brother. Al-Wāqidī relates, in his *Kitāb al-Riddah*, that 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said to Mutammim : "To what degree did yon carry your grief for Mālik ? " and that the poet

---

1 The Hudhaylite poet Khuwaylid Ibn Murrah, surnamed Abū Khirāsh, died in the khilafat of 'Umar. Some verses of his are given in the Ḥamāsah.

2 Literally : with her intelligence.

answered : "I wept during a year, without ever enjoying a moment's sleep, from evening to morning ; and I never saw a fire (*of hospitality*) lighted during the night without thinking to myself that I ought to go out to it, so that I might recall to my recollection the fires lighted by my brother. Mālik ordered a fire to be always kept burning till morning lest travellers might pass the night in his neighbourhood (*without discovering his tent*), and so that, when they saw the fire, they might draw near to it. Certainly, in his eagerness to have guests he felt more joy than other people do when one of their friends returns to them from a distant land." On hearing this, 'Umar observed that such conduct was highly honourable. The same author relates that Mutammim, being asked what effect grief and the shedding of tears had produced on him, answered in these terms. "This eye," pointing to his blind one, "was already gone, and I wept with the good one so abundantly that the lost eye came to its assistance and shed tears." "Such sorrow," said 'Umar, "is really excessive ; no one should grieve like that for the death of a relative." The poets make frequent allusions to Mālik and his brother Mutammim. Ibn Ḥayyūs, (*No. 647*) said, in one of his *qaṣīdahs* :

"It was a manifest calamity, like the death of Mālik ; and it would be digraceful for me not to be a Mutammim."

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā al-Dānī, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Labbānah (*No. 660*), said in a *qaṣīdah* containing a lament on the fall of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, the sovereign of Seville, who was arrested (*and cast into prison*) by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, as we have related in our article on al-Mu'tamid (*No. 660*).

"On quitting your kingdom, you resemble Mālik, and I, in my affliction, resembled Mutammim."

Another poet, probably the Ibn Munīr of whom I have spoken under the letter A (*No. 63*), composed a piece containing an allusion of the same kind as that which we are mentioning. I have since verified the name of the author and found it to be Najm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Yūsuf Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn

Muḥammad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Mujāwir of Damascus. Here is the verse :

"O, my dear Mālik ! thou hast left in my heart a *nuwayrah* (*a little fire*) and, through love for thee, the pupil of my eye is become a Mutammim."

Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Ibn al-Mu'allim, the poet of whom we have spoken (*No. 655*), said also, in a piece of verse containing the description of a (*deserted*) dwelling and praying the rains of heaven to water it :

"The rains watered it before my arrival, and I came to complete their work. Had a Mālik been there, I might have been called a Mutammim (*a completer*)."

Al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd Ibn Sanā al-Mulk (*No. 744*) made also a similar allusion in the following verse : I wept with both my eyes, as if I tried to complete the task which Mutammim had left unfinished.

To expose this subject fully would require a long dissertation, and we have already passed all bounds in this digression. Pronounce *Mutammim*. The word صدا (*ṣadā*), in the expression : *a source but not like Ṣadā*, is pronounced in three different manners : *Ṣuddā*, with a double *d* and a short final *a*, *Ṣaddā*, with the vowel *a* after *ṣ* and a long final *a* ; so that, being pronounced with an *u*, it takes a short final, and, with an *a*, a long one. The third form is *Ṣadāa*, with *a* single *d* followed by two *hamzahs*, one coming immediately after the other. This is the name of a famous well the water of which is sweet and limpid.

756 AL-BUḤTURĪ *THE POET*

Abū 'Ubādah al-Walīd Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Shimlāl Ibn Jābir Ibn Salamah Ibn Mushīr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Khuthaym* Ibn Abī Ḥārithah Ibn Juday Ibn Tadūlt† Ibn

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : Jugham.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : Badūl.—Ed.

Buhṭur Ibn 'Atūd Ibn 'Unayn Ibn Salāmān Ibn Thu'al Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ghawth Ibn Julhumah Ṭay Ibn Adud Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān Ibn Sabā Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rab Ibn Qaḥṭān, was a member of the tribe of Ṭay and bore the surname of al-Buḥturi. This celebrated poet was born at Manbij, or, by another account at Zardafnah, a village near that place ; there he passed his youth and made his studies. He then went to 'Irāq where he recited poems in praise of several khalifs, beginning by al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allah ; he eulogized also in his verses a number of grandees and *ra'īses* (*persons high placed in the civil administration*). He remained at Baghdād a long time, and then returned to Syria. In many of his poems he speaks of Aleppo and the open country which surrounds it ; for he had taken a great fancy to that city. Some of his poems were transmitted down orally by Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*). Muḥammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn al-Marzubān[1], the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥāmili[2], Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakīmī[3], and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (*No. 622*). Ṣālih Ibn al-Asbagh al-Tanūkhī, a native of Manbij, related as follows : "I saw al-Buḥturī here, at our town, before he went to 'Irāq. He would enter by that door of the mosque and pass by us (*to the other*)", here he pointed to the two sides of the edifice, "and, in going and coming, he would recite verses in praise of dealers in onions and love-apples ; yet he afterwards became what we see. The 'Ulwah, whose charms al-Buḥturī celebrates in a great number of

1 This is the Muḥammad Ibn Khalaf (*not Khalf*) of which our author has already spoken (*No. 163*). He was a native of al-Muḥawwal, a village situated to the west of Baghdād. As a transmitter of oral tradition, he was looked upon as a good authority. According to the author of the *Nujūm*, he was distinguished for his learning and composed some fine works one of which was entitled *Tafḍīl al-Kilāb etc.* (*the pre-eminence of dogs over many of those who wear clothes fully established*), He died A. H. 309 (A. C. 921-2). The manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān's work read سبع (*seven*) in place of تسع (neuf, nine), a very common mistake. The true date is given in the *Nūjūm*.

2 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ismā'īl al-Maḥāmilī acted as *qāḍī* at Kūfah during two years, and held the highest rank at Baghdād as a Traditionist and a professor. He died A. H. 303 (A. C. 915-16), at the age of sixty-eight years. (Dhahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*).

3 Abū 'Abd 'Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakīmī died A. H. 336 (A. C. 947-8). (*Nujūm.*)

his pieces, was the daughter of a woman called Zarīā* and a native of Aleppo. Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī says, in his History of Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī (*No. 143*) that al-Buḥturī related as follows: "The first time I gained distinction as a poet was (*on a certain day*), when I went to see Abū Tammām, who was then at Ḥims (*or Ḥums Emessa*), and presented to him a poem of my composition. He used to hold sittings, and not a poet but went to visit him and submit their productions to his judgment. On hearing mine. he turned towards me, without noticing the other persons who were present, and, when they retired, he said: 'You are the best poet of all who recited verses to me. In what circumstances are you?' I complained of poverty, on which he wrote to the inhabitants of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān a letter in which he bore testimony to my talent and recommended me to their generosity. Go' said he and recite verses in their praise.' I went to them and they in consideration of his letter, treated me with great honour and made me a pension of four thousand dirhams[1]. This was the first money I ever earned," Abū 'Ubādah (*al-Buḥturi*) related, in the following terms, his first interview with Abū Tammām: "I went to visit Abū Sa'īd Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf[2] and spoke his praises in a *qaṣīdah*, which began thus:

"Was a captivated lover ever delivered from his passion, so that I also may hope for deliverance? Was it by breaking his engagements (*that he got free*), or by hearkening to the advice of a compassionate friend?"

When I finished, he expressed, his satisfaction and said to me: 'God bless you, my boy!' A man who was in the saloon then said: 'God exalt you (*amīr*)! these verses are by me, but that

1 About ninety pounds sterling.

2 The amīr Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf was the first of the Muslim generals who gained a victory over the troops of the famous Bābak al-Khurramī. Being sent to Ardabīl in the year 220 (A. C. 835), by the khalif al-Mu'taṣim, the orders to repair all the forts which Bābak had destroyed and to establish fortified posts along the road by which provisions were to be conveyed to the Muslim army, he accomplished his task and routed the insurgents in a sanguinary battle. (Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*; *Nujūm*.)

* Zarīqah in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

young man has got them by heart and recited them to you before I had time to do so.' Abū Sa'īd looked at me with an altered countenance and said: "My boy! you have in your family and relatives a sufficient title to my favour; so, do not have recourse to such means as these.' I replied: 'God exalt you! the verses are mine.' On this, the stranger exclaimed: 'Good God, my boy! do not say such a thing.' He then began to repeat some verses of my *qaṣīdah*. On this, Abū Sa'īd turned to me and said: "We shall furnish you with whatever you desire but do not again have recourse to proceedings such as these. I was astounded and left the saloon, not knowing what to say and meaning to ask who that man might be. I had not gone far when Abū Sa'īd called me back and said: 'We are merely jesting with you, so take things patiently. Do you know that man?' I replied that I did not. 'It is your cousin,' said he; it is Ḥabīb Ibn Aws al-Ṭā'ī Abū Tammām! go up to him.' I went over and embraced him. He turned towards me, praised me highly, and spoke favourably of my verses. 'I was only jesting with you,' said he. From that moment I got attached to him and admired greatly his promptitude in learning passages by heart." Al-Ṣūlī relates also in the same work: Abū Tammām made to the mother of al-Buḥturī a proposal of marriage, to which she consented, saying: "Convoke the people to the ceremony." On this, he answered: "The grandeur of God is such that His name ought not to be mentioned (*in an affair which is to pass*) between us two. Let us give each other the hand and act with mutual indulgence[1]." Al-Buḥturī, being asked whether he or Abū Tammām was the better poet, replied: "His best pieces surpass the best of mine, and my worst are better than the worst of his." It has been said of al-Buḥturī's poems that they were chains of gold. He held (*in reality*) the highest rank (*as a poet*). It is related that Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (*No. 46*), being asked which was the best poet of these three: Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*), replied that two of them were moralists and that al-Buḥturī was the poet. I must

---

1 This appears to mean that Abū Tammam desired the alliance without going through the legal forms.

declare that Ibn al-Rūmi (*No. 438*) was not equitable towards him when he said:

"The boy, al-Buḥturī, steals from the son of Aws (*Abū Tammām*) the praises of the great and of the fair. In each of his verses, the thought is well expressed, but that thought belongs to Ḥabīb, the son of Aws."

Al-Buḥturī related that he recited a poem of his composition to Abū Tammām, and that the latter recited to him (*in return*) this verse of Aws Ibn Ḥajar[1]:

"When our force is diminished by the death of one of our lions, another appears amongst us, ready to show his teeth[2]."

"There, exclaimed Abū Tammām, 'I have announced to myself that my death is near!' I replied: 'God forbid!' 'Nay,' said he, 'my life will not be long; and another poet like you is now growing up in the tribe of Ṭay (*who will replace you also*). Know you not the anecdote told of Khālid Ibn Ṣafwān al-Minqarī?[3] he heard Shabīb Ibn Shabbah (*No. 295n*), who was of the same family as he; make a discourse and he said to him: My son! the talent displayed by you in speaking announces to me that my death is near: we belong to a family in which, when an orator is produced, his predecessor soon dies.'" Al-Buḥturī here observed that Abū Tammām died a year after. He related also the following anecdote: "I recited to Abū Tammām a poem which I had composed in honour of one of the Ḥumayd family and by which I gained a large sum of money. When I finished, he exclaimed: 'Very good! you shall be the prince of poets

---

1 See *No. 260* n.

2 This is merely an attempt to express the idea announced in the Arabic verse, which, if literally translated, would run thus: when we lose the sharpness (*of our teeth*) in (*losing*) one of our chieftains, the tooth of another chief flourishes up among us.

3 Khālid, the son of Ṣafwān, and chief of the tribe of Tamīm, spoke his language with great elegance. His father was also remarkable for his talent as a fine speaker. An amusing anecdote is related by Ibn Badrūn (*Dozy's edition, p. 216*) of what passed between him and Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ, the first 'Abbasid khalīf. Ibn Quṭaybah mentions him in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*.

when I am no more.' These words gave me more pleasure than all the wealth which I had collected." Maymūn Ibn Hārūn related as follows: "I met with the historian Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Jābir Ibn Dawūd al-Balādhūrī[1] and he appeared absorbed[2] in thought. I asked him what had occurred, and he said: 'I was one of those persons whom (*the khalif*) al-Musta'in admitted into his intimate society.' Some poets having come to celebrate his praise, he said: 'I will receive eulogiums from no man, unless he produce a verse like that which al-Buḥturī composed on (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil' and which runs thus:

'If a passionate lover could be forced to do what is beyond his power, the pulpit would certainly hasten forward to salute you.'

'I returned home and, the next time I went to see him, I told him that I had composed some verses which were better than those of al-Buhturī.' 'Let us hear them,' said he; and I recited as follows.

'If the mantle of the Chosen one (*Muḥammad*) possessed the faculty of thought, it would think that you were its former master; and; when you received it and put it on, it would have said: 'These are his shoulders and his arms!'"

He told me to return to my dwelling and execute the order which I should receive from him. He then sent me seven thousand dīnārs[3], with this message: 'Treasure them up for what may befal you after my death, for, as long as I live, you shall receive from me a pension sufficient for your support.' Al-Mutanabbī expressed, in the following terms, the thought announced by al-Buḥturī:

"If the tree towards which you look had the use of reason, it would stretch its branches towards you, in saluation."

---

1 See *No, 183,* note. The Arabic text of al-Balādhūrī's celebrated work on the conquests affected by the first Musalmans has been published at Leyden by M. Goeje.

2 The meaning of the words "حالة متماسكة", is doubtful.

3 Somewhat more than three thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

Abū Tammām expressed the same idea before them both, when he said :

"If a piece of ground could advance forward to receive the bones of Nu'mā, the soil which is parched up would have moved towards her[1]"

Al-Buhturī's verse is taken from a long *qaṣīdah*[2], in which author has attained the height of excellence. He praises in it (*the khalif*) Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā-Allāh and describes his going forth to preside at the public prayer on the day of the Breaking of the fast. It begins thus :

"I conceal within my bosom the love I bear you, and I (*sometimes*) disclose it ; grieving under your cruelty, I am blamed and then excused."

The verses with which the one above mentioned is connected are the following :

"You fasted in righteousness ; you are the most meritorious of fasters ; and you now break the fast in conformity to the prescriptions of God. Let your eyes be rejoiced by the day of the Fast-breaking ; it is the most brilliant in the year, the most renowned. On it, you showed off the grandeur of the empire in (*sending forth*) the loud-sounding phalanx which guards the faith and which maintains it. On hearing it approach, we thought that the mountains were in march ; it advanced, that morning, in such numbers as surpassed the most numerous army. The horses ueighed, the riders shouted, the swords glanced and the spears glittered. The earth, submissive, trembled under their weight ; the sky was obscured and the horizon shrouded in dust. The sun, in rising, lighted up the day, but his brightness was soon extinguished in a turbid cloud of dust. (*So it remained*) till your face, appearing in all its splendour, dispelled the darkness and cleared away the dust. The spectators are fascinated by your presence ; towards you are directed every finger and every eye.

---

1 The word لإعظام (*lia'ẓām*) here rendered by : "To receive the bones," signifies "to exalt" if pronounced *li'ẓām*. I know not which is the right reading.

2 This *qaṣīdah* is not very long ; it contains only thirty-seven verses.

They feel that your aspect, which they now enjoy, is one of God's blessings for which none should be ungrateful. By your looks you remined them of the Prophet and, when you appear exalted above your escort, they cry out: "God is the only god! God is almighty!" (*This continued*) till you reached the *muṣallā*,[1] arrayed (*as you were*) in the robe of true direction, visible to every eye. You advanced as one who is humble and submissive to the will of God, without ostentation and without pride. If a passionate lover could be forced to do what is beyond his power, the pulpit would certainly hasten forward to salute you. Eloquence came to assit you with such wisdom as announced and displayed the evidence of truth. Clothed in the Prophet's mantle, you gave warnings and good tidings (*to the congregation*)."

This extract is sufficient for our purpose. The poem itself is really a piece of lawful magic and is composed with a facility not to be imitated. What an admirable flow (*of language*)! how light the bridle (*with which he directs his steeds*)! how beautifully he has moulded his ideas! how elegant his thoughts! in the poem there is nothing superfluous; every part of it is exquisite! The collection of his poetical works exists[2] and his verses are currently known; it is therefore needless to insert here many specimens of his poetry. I shall, however, relate some anecdotes concerning him which may be considered as interesting. He had a young slave-girl[3] called *Nasīm* (*zephyer*) and sold her to *kātib* Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb, the brother of the Sulaymān Ibn Wahb whom I have already given an account of (*No. 259*). He then regretted deeply what he had done, longed to get her back and composed

---

1 See *No. 263*.

2 The copy of al-Buḥturī's *Diwān* belonging to the *Bibliotheque imperiale*, ancien fonds, no. 1392 was written A. H. 610 (A. C. 1213) and is in excellent preservation. It contains 432 leaves, or 864 pages. The poems are arranged in alphabetical order, according to the letters which form the rhymes. Most of these pieces are eulogiums addressed to khalifs, wazīrs, amīrs and other great men; the rest consists in satires; addresses to friends and *ghazals* or amatory pieces. The text of this manuscript has not been collated and offers, in consequence, some false readings.

3 The Arabic word is *ghulām* غلام.

verses in her praise, declaring that he had been deceived and that the sale was effected against his will. Here is one of these pieces:

"O Nasīm! are the promises of Fortune ever true when she encourages the hopes of a passionate lover? Why do I miss thee in my dreams? Why hast thou ceased to console the lover who is scorned by his mistress? You abstain from coming to visit me through fear of those (*who are about you*); but what can hinder your image from visiting my nocturnal slumbers? Today, love has passed all bounds in (*the treatment of*) its victims, and I, as you well know, am a lover. Let al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb enjoy (*his triumph*); he meets with his beloved and I am separated from mine."

He composed many pieces on the same person. There was at Aleppo a man called Ṭāhir Ibn Muhammad al-Hāshimī, who, on the death of his father, inherited a fortune of about one hundred thousand dīnārs[1]. This sum he spent in deeds of charity, bestowing gifts on poets and (*needy*) visitors. Al-Buḥturī went from 'Irāq to see him and, on arriving at Aleppo he heard that the man was overwhelmed with debts and obliged to stay in his house. This intelligence grieved him excessively and he sent to Ṭāhir, by one of his *mawlās*, a poem which he had composed in his praise. When Ṭāhir received and read the piece, he shed tears, called in his servant and said: "Sell this house of mine." The other exclaimed: "If you sell your house, you will be reduced to beggary[2]." "Sell it you must!" replied the other. The sale produced three hundred dīnārs, one hundred of which Ṭāhir tied up in the corner of a handkerchief and sent to al-Buḥturī with a letter containing these lines:

"If there was a gift adequate to the esteem in which I hold your merit, I would heap upon you silver, pearls and rubies, rare though they were. But the elegant scholar, the man of intelligence, will condescend to pardon a friend who, possessing but little, offers an insufficient gift."

---

1 About fifty thousand pounds sterling.

2 Literally: you will remain (*standing*) over the heads of the people. That is: you will go up to those who are sitting at their meals and stand before them in expectation of receiving from them a morsel of bread.

When al-Buḥturī received this letter, he sent back the money and wrote to the donor the following verses:

"Blessings on you! you are worthy of being beneficent! In the race of generosity, you precede and your rival can only follow[1]. A small gift may appear great and a great one small; that depends on the feeling of him who counts on your generosity. But I return this mark of your bounty. because, if taken from you, it would be money ill acquired, and as such, is unlawful. If you repay verses with verses, the obligation is fulfilled and the dīnārs are superfluous."

When the sum was brought back, Ṭāhir opened the knot of the handkerchief and put in fifty dīnārs more, declaring, at the same time, by a solemn oath, that he would not allow al-Buḥturī to return them. When the latter received this gift, he recited these lines:

"I give you thanks; your humble servant feels a real pleasure in being grateful. God increases the store of him who is thankful. In every age there is but one model of perfection, and, in this age, you are certainly the one."

Al-Buḥturī often recited with admiration the following lines, composed by a poet whose name I have forgotten:

"Turtle-dove of (*the groves of*) al-Arāk! for whom do you will? for whom do you lament? By your complaints, you have excited (*to sorrow*) those hearts of ours and, by your weeping, drawn tears from those eyes. Come! let us, in our affliction get up a scene of sorrow, and sigh for the absence of our brethren who have journeyed to a distant land. We shall assist you, and you shall aid us; those that are in sorrow can console the sorrowful."

I have since discovered that the author of these verses was an Arab called Nabhān al-Faq'asī. Al-Buḥturī was passing through Moṣul, or according to another statement, through Rās-'Ayn, when he was taken seriously ill. The physician who attended and treated

---

1 Literally: the concurrent latter, and you before.

him, prescribed, one day a *muzawwarah*[1]. The poet having no one with him except a servant boy, told him to prepare it. One of the chief men (*ra'īs*) of the town used to visit him during his illness and being then present, said : "That boy cannot prepare such a thing well ; but I have a cook ;" here he enumerated all the good qualities of this cook and extolled his talents to the highest. Al-Buḥturī's boy abstained from preparing the *muzawwarah*, fully relying on the promise of the *ra'is*. The poet remained sitting, in expectation of receiving it, but the *ra'īs* had so many affairs to occupy his mind, that he quite forgot to have it made. Al-Buḥturī, seeing that it was not forthcoming and that the time had passed in which he should have received it, wrote these lines to the *ra'is*.

"I find that your promise respecting the *muzawwarah* is a deception (*zawr*) though you positively declared that you would direct a person to prepare it. May God not cure him who hopes to be cured by it ! and may his fortune[2] not be exalted who puts to it his hand ! Forbid your messenger to bring it to me, as I have forbidden mine to receive it."

The anecdotes and honourable acts related of him are very numerous ; so we need not expatiate on them further. His poems were not arranged in order till Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī collected them and classed them alphabetically (*by their rhymes*) ; 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah[3] collected them also and arranged them according to their subjects, as he did for the poems of Abū Tammām. Al-Buḥturī drew up a *Ḥamāsah* in imitation of that which was compiled by Abū Tammām. There exists also a work of his on the ideas which usually occur in poetry (*Ma'ānī al-Shi'r*). He was born in the year 206 (A.C. 821-22), other accounts say, 205, 202, 201 and 200, he died in the year 284 (A.C. 897-98) ; others says, in 285 or 283, but the first date is the true one. Ibn al-Jawzī (*No. 345*)

1 The word *muzawwar* or *muzawwarah* occurs in the *Canon* of Avicena. From the comparison of three passages in which it is found, I am led to think that it means *sorrel-soup*. It was certainly a culinary preparation in which bread was sopped and which, it appears, had an acid taste. In north Africa this word designates *semoule*, or granulated flour, of the finest sort.

2 Literally : the hand.

3 See *No. 753, note*.

says in his *A'mār al-A'yān* (*lives of eminent men*), that al-Buḥturī died at the age of eighty years. His death took place at Manbij; some say, but inexactly, at Aleppo. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) mentions, in his History of Baghdād, that al-Buḥtūrī received the surnames of Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū 'Ubādah, but, being advised, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, to adopt the latter exclusively, as being the more remarkable, he did so. Literary scholars often ask to whom Abu 'l-Alā al-Ma'arrī (*No. 46*) alludes in this verse:

"Al-Walīd said that the *nab'a*-tree[1] produces no fruit; and the flock of gazelles missed obtaining fruit from the *nab'a*-tree."

These persons say: Who is this Walīd and in what (*piece of verse*) did he say that the *nab'a*-tree produces no fruit? This question has been addressed to me by many. The al-Walīd mentioned in the verse was the al-Buḥturī of whom we are now speaking; he said, in a long *qaṣīdah* of his composition:

"She reproached me with my struggles against poverty; but that was foolish in her: the *nab'a*-tree is bare and has no fruit upon its branches."

This is the verse to which Abu 'l-'Alā made allusion. I mention this as a piece of information which may be useful. 'Ubayd Allāh and Abū 'Ubādah, the sons of Yaḥyā, the son of al-Walīd al-Buḥturī, were persons in whose praise al-Mutanabbī composed a number of *qaṣīdahs*. They were al-Buḥturī's grandsons and eminent *ra'īses* at that time. *Buḥturī* means *descended from Buḥtur*, who, as may be seen in the genealogical list given at the head of this article, was one of our poet's ancestors. *Zardafnah* is a village in the dependencies of Manbij. *Manbij* is a town of Syria, situated between Aleppo and the Euphrates. It was built (*anew*) by Chosroes when he effected the conquest of Syria[2]. He called it *Manbeh*, which name the Arabs changed into *Manbij*. As it was the birth-place of al-Buḥturī, it is frequently mentioned in his poems. We find it, for instance, in the following passage, terminating long *qaṣīdah* and in which he addresses Abū Ja'far

1 The *nab'* was of no good but for making bows and arrows.

2 Chosroes II conquered Syria (A. C. 611). It was in this expedition that he took Hieropolis. (*Manbij*)

Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī, the person in whose honour he composed it:

"I shall never forget the tranquil moments I passed with you; enjoying, at your house, the temperate shade of a happy life. I dwelt there in comfort and, reposing under the shelter of its trees (*afyāihi*), I thought myself at Manbij."

Al-Buḥturī's usual residence was in 'Irāq, as he was employed in the service of al-Mutawakkil and of al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān[1]. There he lived highly respected. When these two lost their lives in the manner which all know[2] he returned to Manbij. Being obliged, in the interest of his states, to have frequent interviews with the governor of the place, he used to address him by the title of *amīr*, because he stood in need of his good-will. As he did this against his inclination, he inserted the following lines in one of his poems:

"Ja'far (*al-Mutawakkil*) and al-Fath are gone, partly soiled with dust (*murammal*) and partly stained with gore (*muḍarraj*). Can I ever hope again for aids (*anṣāran*) against Fortune, now that they, my Aws and Khazraj[3], have their dwelling (*thawā*) in the grave? They were my masters by whose kindness I drained off (*ḥalabtu*) to the last drops, the favours poured upon me by their copiously flowing (*muthajjij*) rains (*their beneficence*)[4]. They were taken off designedly and for an evil purpose; and I am left here, obliged to give the title of *amīr* to the governor of Manbij!"

---

1 It is hardly necessary to warn the reader that this Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān, one of al-Mutawakkil's wazirs, must not be confounded with Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān of Seville, the author of the *Qalā'id al-'Iqiyān* and other well known works. The first was murdered in the palace of al-Ja'farī, near Sarra-man ra'ā (A. H. 247), and the other at Morocco, A. H. 529.

2 They were murdered by some of the Turkish guards at the instigation of Muḥammad al-Munṭaṣir, the son of al-Mūtawakkil.

3 The tribes of al-Aws and Khazrāj took Muḥammad under their protection at Madīnah and were therefore called his *Anṣārs (helpers)*.

4 The text of this piece is inexactly given in the manuscripts and the printed editions. The corrections, furnished by al-Buḥturī's *Dīwān*, are indicated in the translation.

Al-Mas'ūdī says, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab* : "Hārūn al-Rashīd passed near Manbij with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣālih, who was the most elegant speaker of all the surviving descendants of al-'Abbās. Seeing a well-built castle (*country-seat*) and a garden full of trees covered with fruit, he asked to whom that property belonged. 'Abd al-Malik replied : 'To you, Commander of the faithful ! and then to me.' 'On what scale,' said al-Rashīd, 'is the castle built ? ' The other made answer : 'It is inferior to that of the dwellings (*in which members*) of our family (*reside*), and it surpasses that of dwellings inhabited by other men.' 'Describe to me your town,' said al-Rashīd. 'Its water is sweet' replied 'Abd al-Malik, its air cool, its plains are solid (*underfoot*), its maladies rare. 'How are its nights ? ' said al-Rashīd. ' The whole night' answered 'Abd al-Malik, is as (*pleasant as*) the morning's dawn'." End of al-Mas'ūdī's relation. This 'Abd al-Malik bore the surname of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān ; he was the son of Ṣāliḥ, the son of 'Alī, the son of 'Abd Allāh the son of al- Abbās the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The town of Manbij, which he held as appanage was his place of residenee. He died at al-Raqqah in the year 199[1]. He expressed his thoughts with great precision and elegance ; but I must abstain from entering into this subject, test I should be led too far. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī[2] says, in his *Mushtarik* under the word al-Suqyā (*the irrigated*) *grounds*), that five places bear this name. He concludes the article with these words : The fifth is a village with gardens, near the gates of Manbij ; it is settled in perpetuity (*waqf*)[3] on the

---

1 In the note *No. 129*, it is stated, on other authorities, that 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣālih died in A. H. 193. The date given here by Ibn Khallikān is certainly wrong, for the *Nujūm* informs (*No. 240*) that, previously to the month of Rajab, A. H. 196 he was already dead.

2 The life of this Yāqūt will be found in this work.

3 A property settled on a religious establishment is called a *waqf*. It may be stipulated by the donor that his descendants are to receive the whole or part of the revenues which it produces. On the death of the last descendant, the property is fully acquired to that establishment and must remain with it in perpetuity,

descendants of al-Buḥturī the poet." Abū Firās[1] al-Ḥamdānī mentions it in his poems.

757 AL-WALID IBN ṬARIF

Al-Walīd Ibn Ṭarīf Ibn al-Ṣalt Ibn Ṭāriq Ibn Sihān* Ibn 'Amr Ibn Mālik al-Shaybānī al-Shārī; such is the genealogy given by Abū Sa'd al-Samāni (*No. 370*) in two passages of his *Ansāb*: one under the title of al-Arqam and the other under that of al-Ṣiḥānī, a name in which the *s* is followed by an *i*. Al-Walīd was one of those men who acquired a great reputation for courage, audacity and bravery. He was chief of the Khārijites[2] and usually stationed in Naṣībīn, al-Khābūr and that neighbourhood. He revolted under the khalifate of Hārun al-Rashīd, committed acts of violance and gathered about him a great multitude ((*of rebels*))[3]. Abū Khālid Yazīd Ibn Mazyad Ibn Zāyidah al-Shaybānī, a chief whose life we shall give, was sent against him by al-Rashīd, at the head of a numerous army, and tried, at first, to circumvent and wheedle his adversary. The Barmakids not liking Yazīd, incensed al-Rashid against him: "He spares the rebel," said they, "in consideration of the relationship which exists between them[4]. Though

1 This name is incorrectly transcribed Farās (*No. 146*), where the life of the poet is given.

2 The term *Khārijī* designated those who revolted against the established authority for religious motives.

3 Abu 'l-Fidā does not speak of Khālid in his Annals, but Ibn al-Athīr gives us an account of him in the *Kāmil*, under the year 178 of the hijirah. This chief revolted at Naṣībīn, penetrated into Armenia, besieged the city of Khalāt till he obtained from the inhabitants a gift of thirty thousand pieces of gold. He then invaded Adharbā'ijān, Ḥulwān, the Sawād of 'Irāq, the countries on the west bank of the Tigris and Mesopotamia; devastating these provinces and ransoming the cities. The khalif Harūn al-Rashīd sent against him Yazīd Ibn Mazyad, and that chief vanquished and slew the rebel in the following year.

4 Al-Walīd and Khālid were relatives; they belonged to the tribe of Shaybān and drew their descent from the same ancestor, Wā'il.

* 'Sibījān Ibn 'Umar' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

al-Walīd has very few troops, Yazīd does nothing but amuse him with fair promises till he sees how things may turn out." This induced al-Rashīd to write an angry letter to Yazīd, in which he said: "Had I dispatched on this business one of my salves, he would have done things better than you. You are trying to deceive (*me*) and spare your own relatives, but the Commander of the faithful swears that, if you defer giving battle to al-Walīd, he will send a person with orders to bring to him your head." In consequence of this letter, Yazīd attacked al-Walīd, defeated and slew him. This took place on the eve of Thursday in the month of Ramaḍān 179 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 795). The battle was so remarkable that it is mentioned in the books of annals. Al-Walīd had a sister named al-Fāri'aih, or, as some say, Fāṭimah. She possessed a talent for poetry and, as al-Khansā made elegies on the death of her brother Ṣakhr[1], she followed the same path and composed, on the death of hers, an excellent *qasidah*. It is very scarce and not to be found complete in any of the literary anthologies[2]; Abū 'Ali al-Qālī (*No. 92*) himself gives only four verses of it in his *Amālī*. I happened to discover a complete copy of the poem and, as it is not only rare but good, I shall insert it here:

"At Tall Nuhākā are the remains of a tomb (*which appears*) like a hill overtopping all other hills. In it are enclosed hereditary glory, chieftanship, courage and sound judgement. Trees of al-Khābūr! why are you covered with leaves? you appear not to grieve for the death of the son of Ṭarīf; of that hero who cared for no other provision but that of piety; who required no wealth but by means of lances and of swords. The only treasures he valued were (*steeds*) sleek and vigorous accustomed to charge upon the ranks (*of the foe*). You (*who regret him not*) you cannot have witnessed that (*battle*), nor stood firm before the enemy when he attacked, and that not feebly. You must never have put on a coat of mail, with the intention of entering into an abyss of terror, into the crowd of warriors with brilliant arms. You must never have charged in a day of battle, when war, pregnant (*with dangers*), was

---

1 See *No. 156* and M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'-histoire des Arabes*.

2 In Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* it is given with some omissions, transpositions and new readings.

goaded on by the points of the yellow-shafted spears[1]. He and generosity were inseparable companions; whilist he lived, generosity was pleased with him; now, that he is dead, she finds no companion that can please her. (*Walīd exclaimed*) you are lost for us (*irreparably*)? as the days of our youth are lost; O! that we could redeem you (*from death*) by the sacrifice of thousands of our youths! till Walīd's life was extinguished, he never ceased to be a curb for his foes and a refuge for the feeble. Alert, my people! death and ruin are at hand, and the earth is inclined to tremble for his loss. Alert, my people! calamity, and destruction are near; here comes adversity, the obstinate foe of the generous. Behold! the moon is ready to fall from its place among the stars, and the sun has resolved to eclipse his light. Behold the lion who was in all things lion; they now bear him to a cavity hollowed in the earth and covered over. May God punish that spot of ground which hides from our sight a hero who was never sated in doing act of kindness. He perished by the hands of Yazīd Ibn Mazyad; but what of that how often did he engage his bands against hostile troops! May the benediction of God rest upon him for ever! I see that death lets fall her strokes on all that is noble."

She composed a great number of other elegies on his death, and, in one of them, she says:

"I think of al-Walīd and his glorious deeds, now that I see the land deprived of his presence. I am gone to look for him in heaven, in that place to which aspired his noble pride, now levelled to the dust[2]. His people lost him by their fault; let them now search for as good a protector as him whom they lost! O! if the swords which struck him with their edge, had known what they did, they would have recoiled off him, when wielded to strike, through respect and through dread of his bravery."

Al-Walīd used to recite the following lines every time he was engaged in battle;

---

1 I read ينكز نها with the Būlāq edition.

1 Literally: "As was desired by his nose now cut off." The word *nose* signifies figuratively honourable *pride*.

"I am Walīd Ibn Ṭarīf al-Shāri ! the lion-chief whose ardour none can withstand ! It was your tyranny which drew me forth from my abode."

It is related that when the army of al-Walīd was routed Yazld himself pursued his adversary to a great distance and succeded in killing him and cutting off his head. When al-Walīd's sister was informed of his death, she put on the armour in which she used to fight, and charged upon the troops of Yazīd. When he saw her, he cried out : "Let her alone !" and then, sallying forth, he struck her horse with his lance and said to her : Go away, and God's curse[1] be upon you ! you will bring disgrace upon the tribe[2]." On hearing these words, she felt ashamed and went away. *Ṭarīf* is to be pronounced as here written (*not Ṭurayf*). *Tell Nuhākā*, the place where this clebrated battle was fought, is, I believe, in the territory of Naṣībīn. *Al-Khābūr* is the well-known river which has its source at Rās-Ayn and falls into the Euphrates, near Qarqīsiyā. On its banks are a great number of villages which resemble large towns, the country around them being perfectly cultivated and the markets abundantly stocked with the produce of the soil. The name is so well-known that I need not indicate its orthography. *Shārī (a seller)* has for its plural *Shurāt* and serves to designate the Khārijites. This name was applied to them because they had the custom of saying : "We have *sold* our souls through obedience to God ;" that is to say "We have given them to purchase paradize, in abondon ing the cause of the imāms (*khālifs* who transgress the law." The true name of *al-Khansā* was *Tumaḍir*. Her father, 'Amr Ibn al-Sharīd, belonged to the tribe of Sulaym. The word khans signifies *to have a flat nose and prominent nostrils :* she received this nickname because that was her case. The history of her brother Ṣakhr and the elegies which she composed on his death are well-known. We have said a word of him in the life of Abū Aḥmad al-Askarī (*No. 156*). Opinions are at variance respecting the place where his tomb is situated. Some say that

1 Literally : "And the vehemence of God be upon you ! "

2 She, who was a relation of Yazīd's, might have been taken prisoner and ill treated.

he was buried near '*Asīb*, a well-known mountain in the country of the Greeks[1], and that the tomb which is to be seen there and is considered as the tomb of Imra al-Qays Ibn Ḥujr al-Kindī, the celebrated poet, is in reality that of Ṣakhr. According to another statement, both were buried there. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimi (*No.* 599) says, in his Dictionary of homonyms, that 'Asīb is a mountain in the land of Ḥijāz, and that Ṣakhr, the brother of al-Khansā, was buried near it. From these indications it would appear that there are two mountains which bear this name; one of them, which is the best known, lies in the country of the Greeks and the other in Ḥijāẓ. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī[2] should have noticed 'Asīb in his geographical Dictionary, but I do not find it mentioned in that work.

758 WAHB IBN MUNABBIH

Abū 'Abd Allāh, Wahb Ibn Munabbih* [Ibn Kāmil Ibn Say'j[3], Ibn Dhī Kibār] al-Yamanī (*a native of Yaman*) was the great transmitter of narrations and legends. He possessed information concerning the origin of things, the formation of the world, the history of the prophets and of (*ancient*) kings.[4] According to Ibn Qutaybah (*No. 306*) he declared that, of all God's books, he had read seventy-two. The same author says: "I saw a treatise of his entitled: *An account of the crowned kings belonging to the race of Ḥimyar, with their history, the anecdotes related of them, the indication of their tombs and specimens of their poetry.*

---

1 The mountain named '*Asīb* is situated in the neighbourhood of Angora. See my *Diwan d' Amro al-Kaiṣ*, page 28

2 The life of this geographer will be found in this work.

3 See Wustenfel's edition of Nawawī's biographical dictionary, page 609.

4 A great part of the information which the Musulmān historians give us respecting the ante-Islāmic history of Persia, Greece, Yaman, Egypt and other countries, comes from Wahb Ibn Munabbih. He was an audacious liar, as Muslim critics of a later period at length discovered.

* From Ibn to 'Kibār' not in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

It forms one volume and is an instructive work. He had several brothers ; one of them, who was older than himself and named Hammām Ibn Munabbih, related some traditions which he had learned from Abū Hurayrah (*No. 244n.*)." 'Wahb was counted as one of the *Abnā*. We shall here explain what is meant by this denomination ; Abū Murrah Sayf Ibn Dhī-Yazan the Ḥimyarite, held the sovereignty of Yaman. When the Abyssinians took possession of his empire, he went to implore the assistance of Chosroes Anūshīrwān, against the invaders. The history of his proceedings on this occasion are well known and a full account of them would lead us too far[1]. The result was that Chosroes sent off with him seven thousand five hundred Persian horsemen under the command of Wahraz. So says Ibn Qutaybah, but, according to Muḥammed Ibn Isḥāq (*No. 586*), the king sent with him only eight hundred horsemen, of whom two hundred were drowned in the sea, and six hundred escaped. Abu al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī (*No. 346*) declares that the first statement is more likely to be true, because it is difficult to suppose that six hundred horsemen could have resisted all the Abyssinians. When these troops arrived in Yaman, they fought a battle with the Abyssinians, gained a victory over them and expelled them from the country. Sayf Ibn Dhī-Yazan and Wahraz took upon themselves the supreme command and held it for four years. Sayf, having admitted some of the Abyssinians into his service, went out to one of his hunting-grounds and took those people with him. When they found him alone, they threw their javelins at him and killed him, after which, they fled to the tops of the mountains ; but the companions of Sayf pursued them there and slew them all. From that moment, the monarchy of Yaman was dissolved ; the people of that country not placing themselves under the command of another sovereign, but the inhabitants of each district choosing a member of the tribe of Ḥimyar for their king. The government of these provincial kings subsisted till God gave the Muslim religion to the world. According to another recital, the country remained in the hands of the Persians and was governed by the lieutenants of Chosroes till

1 See M. Caussin de Perceval's ***Essai sur l'histoire*** des Arabes, vol. I, p. 146 ***et seq.***

the mission of God's Prophet. At that time, there were in Yaman two young men who acted as generals for Barwīz (*Perviz*); one of them was a Daylamite and bore the name of Fīrūz; the other was called Dāduwayh.* They became Muslims and were the same persons who penetrated with Qays Ibn al-Makshūḥ[1], into the house of al-Aswad al-'Ansī, who had set up for a prophet in Yaman, and slew him. The history of this event is so well known that we need not relate it[2]. Our object in mentioning all this is to indicate the origin of the word *Abnā* (*sons*). This title was given to the sons and grandsons of such Persian soldiers as settled in Yaman, got married and had children. Ṭāwūs, the learned doctor of whom we have already spoken (*No. 278*) was one of the *Abnā*. I indicated that fact in his biographical notice, but did not explain the word as I have done here. The history of Wahb is sufficiently known ; so, we need not mention any thing more concerning him[3]. He died at Ṣan'ā in Yaman, in the month of Muḥarram, 110 (*April-May, A. C. 728*); or, by other accounts, in 114 or 116. He had then attained the age of ninety years. We have spoken of Ṣan'ā in the life of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (*No. 373*). Some foreign names are mentioned above, but, as they are well known, we abstain from indicating their orthography and thus avoid lengthening the present article.

759 THE QĀḌI ABU 'L-BAKHTARI

Abu 'l-Bakhtarī Wahb Ibn Wahb Ibn Kathīr Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zama'ah Ibn al-Aswad Ibn al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Asad Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza Ibn Quṣayyi Ibn Kilāb, a member of the tribe

1 Some copies read *Maksūḥ*. Ṭabarī and other historians replace this name by 'Abd Yaghūth.

2 The full history of al-Ansī will be found in Kosegarten's edition of the *Annals of Tabāri* and in M. Caussion's *Essai*.

3 Wahb a jew converted to Islāmism, was highly esteemed in his days as a transmitter of historical information and even as a relator of Traditions. Part of the latter information he delivered on the authority of some of the *Tābi'īs*, or disciples of Muḥammad's Companions ; and in that, he is considered as trustworthy.

* Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : Zādhuwayh.—Ed.

of Quraysh, a descendent of Asad and a native of Madinah, taught Traditions on the authority of 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-'Umarī, Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, (*No. 748*). Ja'far al-Sādiq Ibn Muḥammad (*No. 128*) and others ; Traditions were delivered on his authority by Rajā Ibn Sahl al-Ṣāghānī, Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Sa'īd Ibn al-Musayyab and others. He was considered as one whose Traditions ought to be rejected and was notorious as a fabricator of such pieces. Having removed from Madīnah to Baghdād, under the khalīfate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, he was appointed by that sovereign to the qāḍiship of 'Askar al-Mahdī, (*a place situated*) to the east of Baghdād. We have already spoken of this town in our article on al-Wāqidī (*No. 618*). Some time after, the khalif removed him from that post and nominated him to the qaḍīship of Madīnah, in the place of Bakkār Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī (*No. 228*). He gave him, at the same time, the direction of military affairs in that (*province*). Al-Bakhtari, being afterwards deprived of these offices by the khalif, proceeded to Baghdād and there he continued to reside till his death. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) says, in that article of the history of Baghdād which contains the life of the Ḥanafite *qāḍī* Abû Yūsaf Yā'qūb Ibn Ibrāhim.[1] "This doctor was chief *qāḍī* at Baghdād. On his death, al-Rashīd gave his place to Abu 'l-Bakhtarī Wahb Ibn Wahb the Qurayshide, who was a jurisconsult, a historian and a genealogist ; generous, noble-minded and bountiful ; fond of praise and rewarding amply those who eulogized him. Whether he gave little or much, he always requested the receiver to forgive his parcimony. He rejoiced so loudly when an applicant came to solicit his benevolence, that any person who did not know who he was would say : 'There is a man who has obtained a great favour which he asked for." Ja'far al-Ṣādiq married Ibn al-Bakhtarī's mother at Madīnah and some of his Traditions with their *isnāds*[2], were handed down by his step-son. Her name was 'Abadah, her father 'Alī, descended from 'Abd Manāf by the following line : Yazīd, Rakānah, 'Abd Yazīd, Hāshim al-Muttalib, 'Abd Manāf. Her mother was the daughter of 'Aqil, the son of Abū Ṭālib. The Khaṭīb, in his History of Baghdād,

1 The life of Abū Yūsuf the Ḥanafite will be found in this work.

2 See Introduction to vol. I.

praises Abu 'l-Bakhtarī in the highest terms and relates that a poet went to him one day and recited these lines :

"When Wahb opens his lips to smile, you would take (*the brightness of his teeth*) for the lightnings of a cloud which rejoices in pouring out its waters over many lands. Words of blame uttered by those who are hostile to great men cannot injure Wahb ; the star is not hurted when barked at by a dog. Many men inherit treasures from their fathers, and the treasures of the Sons of Fihr (*the Qurayshids*) consists in that concretion of beneficence (*whose name is*) Wahb."

"Abu 'l-Bakhtarī", says the historian "gave way to an excess of joy and laughed outright. He then called forward one of his '*awns*,[1] and whispered something in his ear. The man brought to him a purse containing five hundred dīnārs[2], and he *Abu 'l-Bakhtārī*) gave it to the poet". Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (*No. 415*) relates as follows, in the article of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* which contains the life of Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī (*No. 513*) : "Aḥmad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Ammār spoke to me and said : 'We were one day at the house of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*), and found with him a young boy who was the grandson of the *qaḍī* Abu 'l-Bakhtārī Wahb Ibn Wahb. His face was smooth and handsome. With him was another boy who resembled him in beauty and who was the grandson of Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī. Al-Mubarrad said to the grandson of Abu 'l-Bakhtārī : 'I know a charming anecdote of your grandfather ; how he performed an act of generosity, the like of which no man ever did before.' He (*the boy*) asked to hear it and al-Mubarrad spoke as follows : 'A literary man received an invitation to some place (*or other*), and there they gave him to drink a different sort of *nabīdh*[3] from that which was served to the rest of the company. This made him compose the following verses :

---

1 The '*awn* (*aid, helper*) is a sort of constable and messenger attached to the tribunal of a *qāḍī*.

2 Somewhat more than two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

3 See *No. 129*.

"Two sorts of *nabīdh* were in the same room ; one for the rich men, and one for their guest ! Had you done the same with your eatables, you would have followed the rule you have observed with respect to your intoxication liquor. But, if you wished to reach the goal towards which all generous men aspire, you would have imitated the conduct of Abu al-Bakhtari : He sought for his brethren througout the land and enabled the poor man to do without the help of the rich."

When these verses came to the knowledge of Abu 'l-Bakhtarī, he sent to the author three hundred dīnārs. 'I told him,' said Ibn 'Ammār, 'that (*Abū Dulaf*), the grandfather of the other boy, did something of the same kind and even finer.' (*Al-Muburrad*) asked to hear what it was, and I related as follows : 'He was informed that a man, formerly rich, had fallen into poverty and that his wife told him to go and enlist in the army (*jund*) ; on which he said :

"Let me alone ; you require of me a thing exorbitant : to bear arms and to hear people in armour cry : Halt ! Do you take me for one of those men of death who, night and day, seek their own destruction? When death approaches others, it appals me; how then could I rush towards it, head foremost[1]? Do you think that to go forward and fight when an adversary in single combat is in my nature, or that my bosom contains the heart of Abū Dulaf?"

Abū Dulaf (*having heard of this,*) sent for the man and said : 'How much pay (*rizq*) did your wife count on your receiving ?' He answered : 'One hundred dinārs[2]'. 'And how long, said Abū Dulaf, 'do you expect to live ?' The man answered : 'Twenty years.' 'Then' said Abū Dulaf, 'I owe you the amount of what you (*both*) hoped for, and shall pay it out of my pocket, not out of the sulṭān's treasury'. He then gave orders that the sum should be paid immediately. 'I saw,' said the narrator, that the face of Abū Dulaf's grandson brightened up and remarked that Abū 'l-Bakhtarī's grandson was put quite out of countenance.' End of the recital furnished by the author of the (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*). We have given these

1 Literally ; in thursting forward the shoulder.
2 About fifty pounds sterling.

verses in the life of Abū Dulaf (*No. 913*) and mentioned the name of him who made them, with the manner in which they were brought about. They differ, in some degree, from those which are inserted here. The first piece of verse (*cited in the foregoing extract and*) referring to Abu 'l-Bakhtarī, was composed by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Atiyah, a celebrated poet (*No. 186n.*). He drew his surname of al-'Aṭawī from the name of his grandfather, who was a native of Baṣrah and a mawlā of the family of Layth Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Kinānah. He (*al-'Aṭawī* was a Muṭazelite and left a *dīwān* of poetry. The Khaṭīb, in his History of Baghdād, attributes to Abu 'l-Bakhtarī the following saying : "I prefer being with people better informed than myself to being with people who are not so well informed as I am. For, if I know more than they do, I can learn nothing from them ; whereas, with the others, I can gain information." The Khaṭīb relates also in the same work, that Hārūn al-Rashīd, on arriving at Madīnah, declared that it would be a profanation if he were to go up into the Prophet's pulpit whilst he had still on him his travelling jacket (*qabā*) and sword-belt. Abu 'l-Bakhtarī, on hearing these words, said to him : "Ja'far, the son of Muḥammad" meaning Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, "related to me that he heard his father speak in these terms ; 'Gabriel, on whom be the blessing of God ! descended (*from heaven*) to the Prophet, and he had upon him a *qabā* and a belt furnished with its sword.' " This induced al-M'uāfā al-Tamīmi to compose the following lines :

"Evil and woe betide Abu 'l-Bakhtarī when all men shall appear together at the resurrection ! for he has said and published a falsehood respecting Ja'far. By Allāh ! he never had one hour's conversation with Ja'far, either in town or in country, never whilst he lived, was he seen to pass between the (*Prophet's*) tomb and the pulpit[1]. May God chastise the son of Wahb for publishing a scandalous falsehood : he pretends that, when the Muṣtafā Aḥmad (*the chosen one, Muḥammad*) received the visits of Gabriel, that

1 This was perhaps the passage leading to that part of the mosque where Jā'far al-Ṣādiq usually stationed.

angel, holy and pure, appeared to him in boots, and in a black *qabā*, with a sword girt around his loins !"

Ja'far Ṭayālisī relates that Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn[1] stopped one day behind the circle of students who were taking lessons from Abu 'l-Bakhtarī. The professor was then repeating to them the Tradition which came from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. On hearing it, Ibn Ma'īn exclaimed : "Enemy of God ! you there tell a lie of the Prophet !" "On that," said Ibn Ma'īn, "the police-guards arrested me[2], but I said to them ; 'This man pretends that the messenger of the Lord of all creatures came down to the Prophet with a *qabā* on his shoulders." They replied to me : 'By Allāh ! that man is a lying story-teller, and they let me go' Ibn Qutayba says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, that Abu 'l-Bakhtarī's authority as a Traditionist was feeble. The Khaṭīb says, in his History, that Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (*No. 194*) related what here follows : "Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*)) was asked if he knew by whom was published the Tradition which runs thus : *No speed* (*can be made*) *except with cloven hoofs, or with solid hoofs or with wings* ? and he replied : 'No one can have related such a thing except that liar ; meaning Abu 'l-Bakhtarī.' This *qāḍī* camposed a number of works, such as the *Kitāb al-Rāyāt* (*on standards*), the history of Ṭasm and Jadīs, the *Kitāb ṣifat al-Nabī* (*a description of the Prophet's person and character the Faḍā'il al-Anṣār* (*the meritorious qualities and doings of Anṣārs*), *the Kitāb al-Faḍā'il al-Kabīr* (*the larger work on meritorious qualities*), and a genealogy of the descendants of Ismā'īl containing also a quantity of Traditions and narratives. The anecdotes told of him and of his merits are very numerous. He died at Baghdād, A. H. 200 (A. C. 815-6) under the khalīfate of al-Māmūn. Ibn Quṭaybah mentions him twice in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* ; the first time, in special article wherein is given an account of what he was ; the second time, in the pargraph headed : *The names which occur thrice successively*, where he gives as examples : "Abu al-Bakhtarī Wahb, the son of Wahb, the son of Wahb, and among the Persian kings: Bahrām, the son of Bahrām, the son of Bahrām,

1 The article on Ibn Ma'īn is given in this work.

2 The true reading is فاخذني الشرط.

* *Kitāb al-Rawāyat*, (a book of Narrations) in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

and, among the descendants of Abū Ṭālib, Ḥasan, the son of Ḥasan, the son of Ḥasan, and, among the Ghassānids, al-Ḥārith the younger, son of al-Ḥārith the lame, son of al-Ḥārith the elder. These are all the cases which Ibn Quṭaybah mentions, the others appeard in later times ; thus Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī (*No. 562*) was named Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad[1]. Bakhtari is derived from the verb *bakhtara*, which signifies *to strut proudly*. This surname is often confounded with that of *Buhturī*. *Zam'a*, in its primitive signification means the excrescence which grows behind the cloven feet of animals. It was afterwards employed as a proper name. We have already spoken of *al-Asadī*. This article was finished when I met with an anecdote which I must add to it : Abu 'l-Bakhtarī related as follows : "I used to go into the presence of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and I found him, one day, with his son al-Qāsim, surnamed al-Mu'tamin, standing before him. I kept my eyes fixed on the boy, from the time I went in till I was going out. One of the khalif's boon companions then said : 'Abu 'l-Bakhtarī must, I think, like lambs' heads. The khalif understood his meaning and, when I went again to see him, he addressed me thus : 'I see that you cannot take your eyes off my son al-Qāsim ; do you wish that he should be given up to you completely ? ' I replied : 'God protect the Commander of the faithful ! why cast up to me a thing (*a vice*) which is not in me ? ' I looked on him fixedly because Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, on whom be God's blessing ! related, on the authority of his forefathers, up to the Prophet of God, that the Prophet said : 'Three things fortify the sight : looking at verdure, at running water and at a handsome face.' I copied this from the handwriting of the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm (*No. 104, note*) ; it was his rough draught of the History (of Aleppo).

760. YĀRŪQ AL-TURKUMĀNĪ.

Yārūq Ibn Arslān al-Turkumānī was a chief who had great influence over his people. It was after him that the horde of

1 Examples of this last case became very numerous.

Turkumāns called the Yārūqiyah was thus named. He was of a colossal stature, a formidable aspect, and resided outside of Aleppo, in the country to the south of the city. He, his family and followers built for themselves, on a lofty hill bordering the river Quwayq, a great number of houses and large edifices which are known by the appellation of al-Yārūqiyah and bear the appearance of a village. He and his people resided there. It is yet inhabited by a numerous population and is frequently visited by the people of Aleppo in the spring season, for the purpose of amusing themselves in its green fields and looking down on the Quwayq. It is a place of amusement and diversion. Yārūq died in the month of Muḥarram, 564 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1168); so says Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, in the life of the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The word ياروق is to be pronounced *Yārūq*. *Quwayq* is the name of a little river which passes near Aleppo; its waters flow abundantly in winter and spring, but cease to run in summer. Poets have often mentioned it in their verses, Abū 'Ubādah al-Buḥturī (*No. 743*) particularly, who has repeatedly spoken of it in his *qaṣīdahs*. He says, for instance, in one of his pieces:

"O ye lightnings! disclose (*to my sight*) the Quwayq and the two outskirts of Aleppo! flash over the castle of Baṭyās! Show me the land of roses tinged with yellow, the land where the myrtle is gathered (*majnā*). When I went to that country, it assembled around me (*its delights*) and greatly tranquilized my heart".

Baṭyās is the name of a village which lay outside of Aleppo, but is now so completely ruined that not a trace of it remains. Ṣāliḥ Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[1] built there a castle which he inhabited and his sons (*after him*). It was situated between al-Nayrab and al-Ṣāliḥiyah, villages lying near each other and to the east of Aleppo. The castle was built on a hill which commands al-Nayrab, but nothing now remains of it except some mouldering ruins. So I find it written in the handwriting of a well-informed native of Aleppo.

---

1 This was the father of 'Abd al-Malik, the 'Abbāsid prince of whom we have spoken in *No. 129, note*.

761 YĀQŪT AL-MAWṢILĪ, *THE PENMAN*

The *kātib* (*secretary or writer*) Abu 'l-Durr (*the father of pearls*) Yāqūt (*hyacinth*) al-Mawṣilī (*an inhabitant of Moṣul*), was the son of a Musalmān (*'Abd Allāh*). He obtained the title of Amīn al-Dīn (*trustworthy in religion*) and was surnamed al-Malikī (*the Malakiyan*) after (*his patron*) the Sulṭān Abu 'l-Fatḥ Malik Shāh II, the son of Saljūq, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Malik Shāh I. Having settled at Moṣul, he studied with great assiduity under Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn al-Mubārak, an Egyptian grammarian who is more generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Dahhān (*No. 247*). He read over, under the tuition of this master, all the works composed by him, as also al-Mutanabbaī's *Dīwān*, al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and some other treatises. He wrote a great deal and specimens of his penmanship, which was extremely beautiful, spread abroad into (*distant*) countries. In the latter part of his life he remained without a rival in the art of calligraphy. The style of (*writing employed by*) Ibn al-Bawwāb (*No. 432*) in the transcription (*of books*), excellent and renowned as it is, does not come up to his. He had a passion for transcribing the Ṣaḥāḥ of al-Jawharī (*No. 9, note*) and wrote a great number of them, each copy forming one volume. Some of them, which I have seen, are now sold for one hundred dīnārs[1] a piece. Numbers of students received from him lessons in writing and profited greatly under his direction. During his lifetime, he enjoyed a high reputation, and people came to study under him from all quarters. Al-Najīb Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (*of the town of Wāsiṭ*) sent him a *qaṣīdah* which he had composed in his praise; he had never seen him, but only heard of his (*eminent talent*). In this poem, which is a good one of its kind, the author extols, in the highest terms, the beauty of Yāqūt's handwriting. Here is the piece :

" Where are the gazelles (*maidens*) of 'Ālij and al-Muṣallā (?) those fawns that dwelt near the stream of al-Mu'allā? Do the branches of the willow (*slender-waisted girls*) still flourish on the sandhills? Do full moons (*handsome faces*) still shine in that

---

1 Between forty and fifty pounds.

horizon ? Have those gazelles still got faces so beautiful that their aspect would alleviate (*a lover's*) sadness ? Compared with these nymphs, what is the tender narcissus which, after sustaining the attacks of the zephyr, erects against its stem ? Compared with those cheeks, what is the tint of the rose when the cloud sheds upon it copiously its waters and its dews ? Do those knolls offer (*to our sight*) star-like oranges borne on branches which are bent down and brought near (*the hand*) ? How could you think that any water could match that of the Tigris ? They who judged so uttered a falsehood ! It is by no means true ; God forbid ! Does any city on earth resemble the Abode of Welfare[1] ? To find the like of Baghdād would be a miracle. It shows us, each day, faces different from those of yesterday and seemingly pregnant (*with mischief*) ; (*it shows us*) maidens of whom a sage would become enamoured, were he to see their mincing and coquetish gait. They bind their hair with Nāṣiriyan ribbons[2] and thus reduce you to bondage[3]. They pay no regard to your saying : 'Were it not (*that I fear*)'...; they only know (*how to say*) these words : '(*we must have*) the entire (*heart*) or else (*none at all*).' That is a pasture-ground for the hearts (*of lovers*) ; on the retreat of spring it is always watered by successive showers. That is a city where a man acquires new ideas and gains the summits of learning, of gravity and of gaiety. (*Baghdād*), to be perfect, requires only the possession of a hyacinth (*yāqūt*) ; O that she had it already to adorn her ! Who will come to her aid, so that the perfume of Amīn al-Dīn's presence may float around her ? That alone would suffice for her pre-eminence. Had she a reason to hope for Yāqūt's visit, even speechless things would (*find a tongue and*) exclaim : 'A hearty welcome ! ' Relators of anecdotes may tell her of the perfume (*which his talent spreads around*), but she would feel much more pleasure at his sight. (*He is*) an ocean of generosity ; the noblest of men follow in his

1 *The abode of welfare (Dār al-Salām)* was the poetical name of Baghdād.

2 This fashionable ribbon was perhaps named *Nāsiriyan* in honour of the Sultan Saladin, whose official title was Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (*the victorious king*).

3 Literally : and thus undo your knotting and untying. The expression, "to knot and untie," signifies "to possess sovereign autority, to have the power of nominating and deposing governors".

steps; for the generous man, when noble deeds are done, has always followers. He unites in himself every scattered portion of knowledge; were he not living, the mother of all talent would be childless. He possesses a reed (*pen*) whose attacks inspire terror to the lions (*powerful chiefs*), and to which squadrons of horse submit with humility. When its mouth (*nib*) opens to let flow black (*ink*) upon white (*paper*), the white and the yellow (*the swords and spears*) are astounded. (*He is*) vigilant in guarding the kingdom, yet he neither aims an arrow nor bares a blade. Eloquence is sent (*by him*) on messages when sheets of paper can fulfil the duties of ambassadors. The arrogant then recoil, filled with terror at what he dictates and prescribes. Sometimes you see him mix with his hand the lots (*of the game*) of science, phrase by phrase; (*so as to form a picture*) like meadows enamelled with flowers, or like strings of pearls; (*producing thus a piece*) elegant in penmanship, brilliant in expression and in the thoughts which they convey. O you who aspire to proficiency! prepare (*for your work*) like Amīn al-Dīn; take your time, and fatigue your mind but gently. You, my lord! the (*sworn*) brother of generosity and the nurturer of glory! you, the son of high renown! you who bear off the prize! you are the full moon of which the penman, the son of a crescent[1], was the father. He that retreats (*before obstacles*) is good for nothing. Though he was the first (*in point of time*), you are more worthy of preference, for you out-ran him and he came in the second. Amīn al-Dīn! you in whom God shews how! He can unite, as in one sheaf, liberality and every merit! I am one of those who bear eulogiums to your tribe (*your dwelling*) so that it (*my poem*) may ever continue to roam about and be recited[2]. When your eulogium is indited by a *qāḍī* (*by a competent judge*), an 'adl (*competent witness*)[3] can bear

---

1 *The son of a crescent*, in Arabic: *Ibn Hilāl.* This was the patronymic appellation of the famous penman Ibn al-Bawwāb. (See *No. 432*)).

2 I read with one of my manuscripts, and the edition of Bulāq يظل تيهاو يتلى The other reading لظل لا يتسلا means: "has remained inconsolable," and is evidently not to be accepted.

3 The '*adl* is an officer in the *qāḍī's* court; he writes out his judgements, signs them as a witness and draws up deeds. He must be a man of approved integrity and veracity.

testimony (*to its truth*). Accept this virgin (*piece*) from a father who never troubled his mind about seeking a husband for his daughter. I desire neither reward nor recompense; but I really see that you are worthy of praise. The impulse of friendship bears this (*poem*) towards you, and it goes, wishing to obtain a kind reception from your good opinion. Since it is difficult for me to reach you, let my heart answer for my sincerity; (*that you can appreciate*), for you are a man of an excellent judgement. Continue to enjoy good health as long as the squadrons of darkness hover round the horizon! as long as the morning unsheathes the blade *of its light*!"

Amīn al-Dīn (*Yāqūt*) died at Moṣul in the year 618 (A.C. 1221-2), at an advanced age. When he grew old, his penmanship changed (*for the worse*).

762 YĀQŪT AL-RŪMĪ *THE POET*

Abu 'l-Durr Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh[1] al-Rūmī *(the Greek)*, surnamed Muhadhdhab al-Dīn *(pure in religion)*, was the *mawlā* of a merchant named Abū Manṣūr al-Jīlī. This celebrated poet, having studied the science (*of law*) and acquired extensive literary information, directed his genius to the compositon of verses and attained proficiency in that art. When his talent raised him to distinction, he assumed the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān. His place of residence at Baghdād was the Niẓāmiyah College. In the *Dhayl* (*or* supplement to *al-Sam'ānī's historical continuation*), the author, Ibn al-Dubaythī (*No. 635*) metions him among the 'Abd al-Raḥmāns, and says: "He passed his early youth in Baghdād, where he learned by heart the sacred text of the *Qur'ān*, got some acquaintance with general literature and learned to write a good hand. He used to recite verses of his own composition, most of which consisted in blandishments addressed to his mistress and in the expression of his passion. All these pieces are on love-

1 The meaning of these names is explained at the beginning of the preceding article.

matters and are full of tenderness; many people know them by heart." He (*Ibn al-Dubaythī*) then gives some passages of his poetry and mentions that one of them was recited to him by the author himself. It begins thus:

"O my two friends! I swear that the night never got dark without inspiring the lover with desire or with folly."

The rest of the piece may be found in the *Majmū'ah al-Ṣaghīr (the lesser compilation)*[1]. Al-Rūmī's verses have got into general circulation and are sung to music. They are full of grace and tenderness. Here is one of his poems:

"If your tears cease to flow after the departure of those whom you love, all *(the passion)* that you affect to feel is false and counterfeit. How can you admit consolation or forget their images *(seen in your dreams)*, now that their dwellings and native soil are deprived of their presence? May God never afflict *(us)* with the departure of a tribe by whose removal full moons *(handsome faces)* and pliant branches *(slender waists)* disappeared from our eyes! They set out and my heart followed in the track of their caravan; all my provision of firmness was exhausted when they went away. Since they are gone, the earth never discloses its smiles *(its flowers)*; the willow and the lotus-tree agitate their branches no more. On the morning of our separation care and sadness caused my tears to flow and lighted up a fire in my heart. All the waters of Noah's flood were *(poured forth)* from my eyes and the flames which the Friend of God encountered[2] raged within my bosom. If solid rocks could feel such sorrow as I endure for my beloved *(the mountains of)* Uḥud and Lubnān *(Lebanan)* would shrink[3] before it; Yadhbul would melt away under such pain as mine; Ruḍwā would be shattered to pieces, and Thahlān would sink under the weight[4]. O thou whose splendid beauty holds me captive! the sovereignty of thy

---

1 This work is not known.

2 According to the *Qur'ān, sūrah* 21, Abraham, the Friend of God (*Khalīl Allāh*) was cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace and miraculously saved.

3 The true reading is evidently لحاذ.

4 Those are mountains of Arabia.

charms has shewed me no kindness. Be, however, as thou wilt! no one shall ever replace thee in my affection. Thou art for me a limpid fountain, and my heart is parched with thirst."

Here is another of his poems:

"Who will bear to Baghdād the news of what I suffer for that maid and of the love I feel for her? Who will bear my salutation to the Abode of Walfare[1]? Breath of the zephyr! carry the salutation of an ill-starred wretch to her who has harassed me and who heeds not the promises she made me. Describe to her a part only of the love with which she inspired me; perhaps she may have pity on one who is borne down by passion and delirium. Declare in the public place of al-Zawrā *(Baghdād)* that I have there a fawn *(a maiden)* whose absence has driven sleep from my eyelids and whose beauty is marvellous; when she departed, my firmness of mind departed also and, when she turned away, she turned me over to death. When she repelled me, sleep was repelled from my eyes, and, when she shunned me, the wine which I drank was mingled with tears. My life and death are in her hands; she is for me paradise or hell; she is the only fountain where I can calm my longing and allay my thirst. Her absence is my death; her presence is, for me, life, happiness and the obtainment of my wishes. From her cheeks proceed the fires which consume me; her slender waist is the cause of my emaciation, and her languishing eyes make me languish in sickness. You who blame me cannot but excuse me: the grace of her movements indicates sufficiently that I was forced to love her and adore her."

I heard many jurisconsults in Syria and 'Irāq recite a piece of his which they knew by heart and which began thus:

"O thou who excitest troubles in my bosom! since thy departure, my body is emaciated through the love I bear thee and will never be restored to health until thou givest consent to my wishes by saying: 'Yes' O thou who, as often as censors have blamed my love, hast offered them my justification in *(letting them see)* thy flowing ringlets! Tell me if my tyrant is authorized by

1 The Abode of Welfare (*Dār al-Salām*) was one of the names by which Baghdād was designated.

the *Wajīz* to slay me? It is said so in the *Tahdhīb* or the *Shāmil*? Does the *Muhadhdhab*[1] say that a lover whose eyes are moist and whose tears flow in torrents deserves to be tormented? Have your seductive eyes told you it was lawful to take away our lives with glances whose magic is like that of Bābil[2]?"

The piece contains more verses than these, but I have here given all that I am able to me recollect. A literary man recited to me, at Aleppo, some verses of Yāqūt al-Rūmī's, one of which was as follows:

"Art thou not sweeter in qualities than *(all other)* maids? why then dost thou dwell in heart which is a hell[3]? "

He mentioned also that some of the Baghdād critics objected to this verse. I reflected on the matter and then said to him: "Fault was found with it perhaps in this particular that her being sweeter in qualities than the other maidens did not necessarily imply that she should not be in hell; for she, being sweeter in qualities than they were, was not *(to be counted as)* one of them; and what is denied is merely that the maidens should be in hell." To this he replied: "You are in the right! that is the very point in which they found fault with him[4]." In the year 625 (A.C. 1227-8), I met at Arbela a man of eminent merit who related to me as follows: "I was in Baghdād, at the Niẓāmiyah college, in the year 620, and, one day, I found this Abu 'l-Durr *(Yāqūt)* sitting at the door of that institution. I sat down beside him, and engaged in a conversation on literary matters. Whilst we were thus occupied, an elderly man, weak in body and in a very sorry plight, came up, leaning on a staff, and sat down near us. Abu-'l-Durr asked me if I knew who he was and, on my answering that I did not, he said: 'That is the *mamlūk (white slave)* on whom his master, *(the poet)* Ḥayṣ Bayṣ *(No. 241)* composed these lines:

1 These are well-known treatises on law.

2 The inhabitants of Bābil were well-skilled in magic, as they had for teachers the fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt (*Qurān, sūrah* 2, verse 96).

3 The poet's idea is: my heart is filled with the flames of love and yet I bear you in it.

4 It is difficult to understand the objection and the author's explanation of it.

"Put on what cap[1], what gown, what vest you please; you cannot add to the love which I bear you. Less love than that which you are worthy of possesses already the totality of my heart; if you wish to augment that *(love)* give *(me)* another heart *(the one I have is insufficient to contain it)*."

"I turned to look at the man, observing his appearance and reflecting on the state to which he was reduced. I searched for these two verses in the *dīwān* of Ḥayṣ Bayṣ's poems, but was unable to find them. God best knows *(if they be his)*!" Abu 'l-Durr left a *dīwān* of poems which, as I am told, forms a small volume. I have never seen it, but have met with numerous verses taken from it. His verses are currently known in 'Irāq, in the province of the East *(Mesopotamia)* and in Syria; so, what we have given may suffice. In the life of al-Khiḍr Ibn 'Aqīl al-Irbalī *(No. 205)* we have inserted three verses of al-Rūmī's. Since the above was written, two copies of his *dīwān* came into my possession, this was at Damascus, in the year 667 (A.C. 1268-9); the book is a small one, containing only ten quires *(two hundred pages)*—I read in a historical work of those later times, that Abu 'l-Durr *(Yāqūt)* was found dead in his lodgings at Baghdād, on the 12th of the first Jumādā, 622 (22nd May, A.C. 1225), but the people said that he had been dead for some days. Ibn al-Najjār *(No. 5, note)* mentions, in his History of Baghdād that Abu 'l-Durr was found dead in his room on Wednesday, the 15th of the first Jumādā of that year. He had left the Niẓāmīyah and gone to reside in a house situated in the Darb Dīnār al-Ṣaghīr *(Lesser Dīnār-street)*. It is not known at what age he expired but I am inclined to think that he was advanced in years[2]. *Rūmī* means *belonging to the conntry of the Rūm (Greeks)*, which is a vast and celebrated region, filled with cities. This is a fit place for introducing a piece of curious information which is often needed and frequently asked for: The people of *Rūm (The Greeks and the Romans)* are designated also as the *Banu 'l-Aṣfar (sons of the tawny one)*, and poets often employ this expression

1 For the meaning of the word شربش see Mr. Dozy's ***Dictionnaire des noms des vetements des Arabes.***

2 ناطح is evidently the equivalent of طاعن.

in their verses. ‘Aqīl Ibn Zayd al-‘Abādī (*No. 85, note)* says, in one of his *qaṣīdahs.*

"The noble sons of al-Aṣfar, kings of al-Rūm, have left no rememberance of their deeds."

I frequently sought for the origin of this denomination, but could find no one capable of allaying the thirst I had *(for that piece of information)* ; till I at length met, by chance, with an old book entitled *al-Lafīf (the miscellany)*,[1] but, on which the name of the person who dictated its contents *(i.e. the author)* was not inscribed. I copy here a passage of it in which the narrator says : "Al-‘Abbās informed me that he heard his father make the following statement : In the first period *(of the empire)*, the king of the Rūm died[2], leaving a wife. Rival chiefs aspired to the empire and great mischief was done between them. It was then agreed upon to take for their king the first person who would appear to them, and they held an assembly for that object. Now, a man had set out from Yaman for al-Rūm, taking with him an Abyssinian slave. He *(the slave)* ran away and appeared before them. 'See,' said they, 'into what we have fallen' ! They married him to that woman, and she bore a son whom they named *al-Aṣfar (the Tawny)*. The master *(of the slave)* remonstrated with them and the boy *(the slave)* said : 'He has spoken the truth ! I am his slave.' They tried to appease him *(the master)* and made him gifts till he was satisfied. The Rūm were therefore called *the Sons of the Tawny*, on account of the yellowness of the child, who was the son of an Abyssinian and a white woman." God knows best[3] !

---

1 This work is no longer known.

2 Or, according to other readings, *was torn to pieces, was burned.*

3 The learned among the Musulmāns and some of our European orientalists have offered various solutions of this problem but none of their explanations is satisfactory. I am inclined to believe that the denomination *Banu 'l-Aṣfar* signified *the sons of the emperor*, and that it was given to the Greeks of the Eastern empire because their sovereign bore, amongst his other titles, that of *Flavius*, which had been transmitted by Vespasian to his successors. An interpreter, confounding *Flavius* with *flavus*, may have told the Musulmāns that this name signified *yellow* (*aṣfar*).

763 YĀQŪT AL-ḤAMAWĪ.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a Greek (*of Asia*) by origin and by birth, received the surname of al-Ḥamawī because he was enfranchised at Ḥamāt, and obtained that of al-Baghdādī because he made a residence in the city of Baghdād. He bore the honorary title of Shihāb al-Dīn (*flambeau of religion*). When a child, he was carried off a captive from his native place and sold at Baghdād, to a merchant named 'Askar Ibn Abī Naṣr Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī. His master sent him to school, with the intention of deriving profit from him later, in making him keep the accounts of his commercial transactions. This 'Askar could not write correctly and knew nothing except commerce. He inhabited Baghdād, got married there and had a number of children. When Yāqūt was grown up and had acquired some knowledge of grammar and literature, he was employed by his patron as a travelling clerk and, in that capacity, he went back and foward from Syria to Kīsh[1]*, 'Umān and the neighbouring countries. His master was then under the necessity of enfranchising him and turning him away, in consequence of a disagreement which took place between them. This happened in the year 596 (A. C. 1199-1200). Yāqūt then commenced copying books for a salary and, by their perusal, he acquired considerable information. At a later period, he received some (*money*) from his patron, who had taken pity on him, and was sent off by him on a voyage to Kīsh. Finding, on his return, that his benefactor was dead, he realized part of what was in his hands and gave to the widow and orphans wherewithal to satisfy them. The remainder served him as a trading capital with which he travelled to different countries, and part of it he employed in the book-trade. The lecture of some khārijite books impressed on his mind a considerable portion of the doctrines (*professed by these sectarians*) and he conceived a strong prejudice against 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. In the year 613 (A.C. 1216-7) he went to Damascus, and as he was sitting in one of the bāzārs, he got into a discussion with a partisan of 'Alī. In the course of the

1 The island of Kīs is situated at the entrace of the Persian Gulf, opposite to Ormus.

* M. de Slane gives : Kīs.—Ed.

dispute, he was led to speak of 'Alī in a manner not to be borne and was assaulted so violently by the people that he was likely to be killed. Having got out of their hands, he fled from Damascus, but not before the governor of that city had received intelligence of what took place and given orders to arrest him. Search was made for him, but without success. He reached Aleppo where he stopped, full of apprehension and waiting to see how things would end. On the first third, or by another account, on the second third of the latter Jumādā, 613 (Sept. Oct., A. C. 1216), he left that city and went to Moṣul, whence he proceeded to Arbela and from that to Khurāsān. He avoided entering Baghdād, knowing that the person with whom he had the discussion was a native of that place and fearing to lose his life if his adversary mentioned and what he had said. On arriving in Khurāsān, he stopped there for the purpose of trading to the towns in that country, and fixed his residence at Marw (*Meru*). From that he proceeded to Nasā and then entered into the province of Khuwārazm where he encountered the invading army of the Tartars. This was in the year 616 (A.C. 1219-20). Having barely escaped with his life, he fled as naked as when he shall be raised from the dust of the grave on the day of the resurrection and arrived at Moṣul, after suffering on the way such hardships and fatigue as would even tire a narrator before he could describe them all. Deprived of every resource, in want of even the vilest food and the coursest clothing he remained for some time at Moṣul, and then went to Sinjār. From that he removed to Aleppo and, having taken lodgings in the *caravansarai* outside the city, he continued to reside there till his death. The date of this event we shall give farther on. I copied the following notes from the work compiled by the Abu 'l-Barakā Ibn al-Mustawfī (*No. 528*) and treating of the history of Arbela: Yaqūt arrived in that city, A.H. 617, in the month of Rajab, (Sept., A.C. 1220). He had been residing in Khuwārazm but left it after the battle which took place between the Tartars and Muḥammad Ibn Tukush Khuwārazm Shāh, the sovereign of that country. As he had previously been occupied in making historical researches, he composed a work in four large volumes and entitled: *Irshād al-Alibbā ilā ma'rifat al-Udabā (Guide of the intelligent to an acquaintance with the learned)*. In the beginning

of the work he says: "I have given in this work all the information I could obtain respecting the grammarians, the philologers, the genealogists, the eminent *Qur'ān*-readers, the relators of historical facts, the annalists, the booksellers of note, the writers of renown, the authors of such epistles as have been collected into volumes, the persons distinguished for the beauty of their *mansūb*[1] handwriting, and all those who composed or compiled works on literature. In this task, I aimed at concision, though unable to remain within the limits of brevity, and I spared no pains in determining the dates of the deaths and fixing the days and the hours of the births. I mention the works composed by them, the more interesting of the anecdotes concerning them; their origin, their genealogy and some of their poetry. (*I compiled this work*) during my travels in various countries and my intercourse with the inhabitants. The *isnāds*[2] I have suppressed except those which contain but a few names and which are easy to be learned; and, moreover, I did all in my power to have the exactness of these traditions certified by oral declaration and by the licences given to teach them. As it was my object to produce a small but useful work, I have indicated in it the sources whence I derived my information and the places where I found it: the books, for instance, composed by such of the learned as were considered sure authorities in these matters and on whose declarations all relied for the genuineness of these traditions." He (*Ibn al-Mustawfī*) then states that Yāqūt composed a work on the history of the poets both ancient and modern. Other works were written by Yāqūt, such as the *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (*gazetteer of alphabetical lists of places*[3]), *the Mu'jam al-Shu'arā* (*biographical dictionary of poets*) *the Mu'jam al-Udabā* (*biographical dictionary of literary men*), the *Mushtarik waḍ'an wa 'l-Mukhtalif ṣaq'an* (*a dictionary of geographical synonyms*) which is a useful book, the *Kitāb al-Mabdā wa 'l-Ma'āl* (*the Commencement and the End*), treating of history, the

---

1 See *No. 454, note.*

2 See Introduction to Vol. I.

3 This and the *Mushtarik* are the only works of Yāqūt which I have met with. The *Mu'jam al-Buldān* forms the five or six volumes and contains much curious information. I understand that Mr. Wustenfeld has prepared an edition of it which is now (1865) in the press.

Kitāb al-Duwal (*book of Empires*), the collected sayings of *Abū 'Ali 'l-Fārisī* (*No. 155*), an *'Unwān* (*title or preface*) to the *Kitab al-Aghānī* (*No. 415*), the *Muqtaḍib fi 'l-Nisab* (*selection of genealogies*) containing those of the Arabian tribes, an account of al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*) and a treatise entitled *Kitāb man lahu himmah etc**. (*book for him whose high aspirations are directed towards the acquisition of knowledge*)[1]. Al-Qāḍi 'l-Akram (*the honourable qāḍi*) Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī al-Qifṭī (*No. 510, note*), who was Wazīr to the sovereign of Aleppo, states, in the *Anbā 'l-Ruwāt fi Abnā 'l-Nuḥāt*, that Yāqūt, on arriving at Moṣul, whither he had fled on escaping from the Tartars, wrote to him a letter in which he describes his situation and relates what passed between him and these invaders. It begins by the invocation of the divine name and the praises of God, after which, it continues in these terms : "Your mamlūk (*humble servant*) Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, wrote this letter from Moṣul in the year 617 (A.C. 1220-1), on his arrival from Khuwarazm whence he was driven by the Tartars whom God exterminate ! (*He sent it*) to the presence of his sovereign lord[2], the Wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāḍī 'l-Akram Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Wahīd al-Shaybānī al-Taymī (*member of the tribe of Shaybān and descended from*) Taym Allāh, who was the son of Shaybān, the son of Tha'labah, the son of 'Ukābah. May God cast his shelter around him and exalt his rank in the scale of domination[3]. (*To him*), who is, at the

---

1 The loss of these compilations is much to be regretted.

2 Literally : the master of his thraldom.

3 This long letter contains vety little information and was evidently composed with the intention of displaying the great command of language possessed by the author. Its style, though laboured and excessively affected, is by no means remarkable for elegance, though the Wazīr Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn Khallikān have inserted it in their respective works. Nothing can be conceived more verbose and more jejune than this pompous epistle. It is almost needless to say that the copyists did not always understnnd it and have committed numerous faults in its transcription. Some of these errors I have rectified, but a few passages remain of which the text cannot be amended though the meaning be tolerably clear.

* According to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : this is not the title of a book. The sentence means : He, i.e. Yāqūt, had high aspirations to acquire knowledge,—Ed.

present day, the wazīr of the sovereign of Aleppo and al-'Awāṣim[1] (*is addressed*) this account of what has passed in Khuwārazm and of what has happened to the writer. (*It offers*) a slight indication of the manner in which he began and ended (*his career*) on taking leave of your (*excellence*). He shrank from the idea of submitting it to your appreciation such was his respect and veneration for your dignity and such his repugnance to offer you a document so unworthy of your exalted merit. But now, that a number of practitioners in the art of prose and verse have been informed of these (*events*) and have hastened, as I well know, to set them down in writing and to hurry in active competition towards the task of transmitting the knowledge of them (*to future ages*); now, that the generosity of him who holds me enslaved has, no doubt, unsealed, these (*epistles*) and assigned to their (*authors*) a high rank in his favour, I feel encouraged to present this (*notice*), to my (*honoured*) master and to a judgment which will shew how exalted it is by perusing it and treating its imperfections with indulgence. For (*I am not a professed writer*); every person who fingers dirhams should not be taken for a money-changer, neither is the man who acquires a pearl to be considered as a jeweller. Here follows my statement:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! may God render durable, for the advantage of science and of those who cultivate it, for the prosperity of Islamism and its sons, the gift which He has conferred, bestowed and granted to enjoy, namely, the ample (*and beneficient*) shade of the lord wazīr, whose partisans may God exalt whose glory and power may He redouble! whose ensigns and standards may He maintain victorious! whose pen may He long allow to run (*on the surface of paper*), so that it may direct towards all lands the flow of his donation! May He prolong his life and exalt his glory to the heavens, whilst He surrounds him with favours of which the freshness shall never fade and of which the number and the multitude shall never be restrained by limits. May his vigour and his sword never be broken! may the

1 *Al-'Awāṣim* (*the fortresses*) was the name given to that part of ancient Cilicia which borders on the north of Syria.

love which all bear him and the number of those who love him be never diminished! God prolong his rule for the advantage of the world and of our religion! so that he may repair their disorder, drive away their affliction, elevate their beacon and, by his salutary influence, enable them to leave a lasting impression. May his light shine forth, his blossoms open, his flowers brighten and his lustre be augmented! May God extend the shade of his (*the Wazîr's patronage*) over the sciences and those who profess them; over literature and those who cultivate it; over the meritorious acts and those who practise them; so that, by his well established bounty, he may exalt these (*fair*) structures, adorn their diadems with the finest jewels of his glory, embellish their duration with the mature (*honours*) of his exalted dignity, give them great importance for mankind by the loftiness of his views, and establish in the highest degree of merit their utility and their rank. By the efficiency of his orders he has exalted the influence of the Muslim states; he presides as a guardian over the foundations which support the dogmas of the faith, he exalts those who defend them and abases those who attack them. By the excellence of his government he strengthens the arms[1] (*of the true doctrine*) and, by his well-directed efforts, he has smoothed for it the way to the attainment of its purposes. Thus, by the excellence of his administration, hath he become a brilliant star on the forehead of the age, and a model to be imitated by every man whom nature has formed for (*the exercise of*) justice and benevolence. Therefore shall he enjoy a fitting recompense as long as the two companions (*light and darkness*) shall subsist, as long as days and nights shall be renewed, as long as there shall be a sun to shine in the east, and a soul to rejoice at the prospect of conversing with his Excellence[2]!.

After (*these preliminaries*), the humble slave (*who writes this*) exposes to (*your*) high and seigniorial dignity to (*your*) right honourable and exalted station, which God favour with happiness long to endure, brilliant with lustre, satisfying all our wishes and

---

1 The Arabic word signifies: the part of the arm on which the bracelet is worn.

2 Literally: his illustrious presence.

embellished with every mark of excellence[1], a state of things the relation of which is rendered unnecessary by your lordship's quick intelligence, and for the elucidation and description of which, the clear judgment you are gifted with might dispense me from employing (*inḍā*) the pen. But, let it be sufficient for him (*the wazīr*) to recollect in what terms our blessed Prophet described the true believers : 'Certainly', said he, 'my people are fond of talking[2]'. This (*letter*) is (*merely*) a disclosure of the writer's sincere devotion (*to you*) as client, of the pride he feels in being an humble servant to (*your*) seigniorial presence and in being considered as such; for your quick genius suffices to prevent him from manifesting, out of what is laid up in his mind, sentiments which might have the appearance of adulation. Indeed, the proofs of your humble servant's zeal in the religious duty of clientship are evident to all the world, and the mark impressed on him by the stamp indicating the sincerity of his love for your honourable name is still apparent on the pages of time. So also is his faith in the sacred laws (*of gratitude*) imposed by that bounty (*of yours*) which, covering all the land, has rendered clearly visible, by its splendour, the edifice of noble deeds (*which you erected*). Your servant's repeating, in your praise, the recitals whose authenticity has been verified by personal experience, is well justified[3]. He summoned the people of all lands to assert with zeal in their faith in the supremancy of your (*generosity, proofs of*) which he has (*often*) received in his hand. Your friend, sincerely devoted to the belief in your superiority and especially distinguished by the intention of collecting all the scattered (*recollections*), all the (*accounts*) wide-spread (*of your bounty*), was accustomed to toil in the sweat of his brow; so that, at length, he rendered you a *ka'bah* of generosity towards which it was not necessary to prescribe the obligation of pilgrimage for those who were able to undertake the journey, neither was that duty incumbent on those who

---

1 Literally : with a white forehead and white pasterns. These were considered by the bedwin Arabs as marks of a good horse.

2 Literally : my people are speakers.

3 Literally : his recital of the traditions of glory, the *isnāds* of which are near (*easy to be verified*), is established by his presonal observation.

possessed means, to the exclusion of the indigent and the way-worn traveller. All of them obtain (*from you*) a meed sufficient to fortify them, a portion adequate to their wants and on which they counted. The grandees have drawn from your source an abundant supply of noble deeds ; the learned have found examples of merit in those persons who are attached to your service ; the poor have received your letters of protection against the vicissitudes of time and the frowns of fortune ; therefore have they prescribed as a sacred rite towards you, the saluting and the glorifying of your noble and illustrious character ; the touching with their lips and the kissing of your generous hand. God is a witness that your humble servant, in his journeyings and sojournings, in private and in public, in conduct and in reputation, had always for his distinctive mark the custom of perfuming the assemblies of the worthy and the meetings of the learned with (*the account of*) the services which your Excellence has rendered and which were obtained from your generosity. He made it his pride (*to speak of them*) before all people, and thus prepare an embroidery for the discourse he was about to utter :

"When I, through cupidity, gave lustre to other men by my poems, I gave my verses lustre by the mention of your name."

They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islāmism. Answer : Upbraid me not with your having embraced Islāmism ; rather God upbraideth you, that He hath directed you to the faith. Avow the fact if you can speak sincerely[1]. May God never debar us (*the wazīr's*) trusty friends, from the ample stock of His common favours, nor preclude us all, who are all his servants, from the constant flow of His gifts ! O God ! Lord of the expanded earth, of the exalted heavens, of the swollen seas and of the winds compelled to work (*Thy will*)[2] ! hearken to my invocation and listen to my prayer ! Help us up to that height in His favour which we desire to reach and which we hope to attain, through the merits of Muḥammad the Prophet and of his Companions and of his kindred !

---

1 *Qur'ān, Sūrah* 49, verse 17. The application of this verse is by no means clear.

2 The epithets here employed are taken from the *Qur'ān*.

When your humble servant left your noble presence and departed from the abode of unsullied glory and exalted merit, he intended to conciliate frowning Fortune and draw milk from the udder of this age, wicked and unruly as it is. For he was seduced by the idea that changing place—brings grace,—that passing into a foreign land—brings wealth to hand,—that dwelling with one's friends—disgrace and pain upon us sends,—and that the lover of home who stirs not apace,—is distanced in the race[1].

"After stopping for a time in hesitation, I felt assured that death was preferable to poverty. So, I bade farewell to my family, whilst my heart was filled *(with grief)* and left my native land in the pursuit of wealth. My wife wept on our separation, and I said to her : 'Bear it with patience ! death is surely better than a life of misery. I shall gain a fortune or die in a town where few tears will be shed over my grave."

Mounted on the steed[2] of hope, your servant rode off to a distant land, and placed his foot in the stirrup of peregrination with every company (*that offered*) ; he crossed the valleys and the hills till he nearly reached the Sudd[3] ; but perfidious Fortune did not befriend him, neither did the times, now ran mad, treat him with kindness :

"Ask the nights and days to acknowledge their fault, they will not conceal that news".

I was like a mote in the eye of fortune or a bone in her throat ; so, to get rid of me, she deluded me in promising to fulfil my wishes and finished by casting me into the snares of death :

"He stopped not long in any land before he set out for another; his person was with (*his fellow-travellers*) but his mind was far distant. One day, he was at Ḥuzwā ; another, at al-'Aqīq ; another, at al-'U<u>dh</u>ayb, and another, at al-<u>Kh</u>ulayṣā. Now he

---

1 These are rhyming proverbs.

2 Literally : the camel's hump.

3 The *sudd* or *barrier* of Gog and Magog was supposed to exist on the west side of the Caspian sea.

went towards Najd and Āwinah (*near*) the valleys of al-Ḥuzūn, and then to the castle of Taymā[1]."

But, alas! after all these lessons of adversity, how far was I from the accomplishment of my wishes and the attainment of my desire! The frowns of ill-luck drew smiles from cruel time, and I ceased not to blame Fortune and reproach her with her errors, till, instead of getting wealth, I was satisfied in reaching home[2]. And during all that, your humble servant tried to pass away those days and to get over them; deluding himself with the hopes of sustenance, covering his head with the veil of endurance and self-denial, arrayed in abstinence and in scanty fare, but not resigned to the wearing of such clothing; *your brother was forced and had not strength to resist*[3]. He remained there, consoling himself in the society of his fellow merchants whose humours he could support and from whom he had no affronts to fear; he treated them with politeness and was happy to receive from them a pittance. Otherwise, no advantage could be expected from them and no harm could be feared:

"If I must absolutely have a family and a home, let it be in a place where I can have nothing to fear from those whom I meet, and they, nothing to fear from me."

My mind had once formed the thought of assuming high airs, of riding on a spirited horse, of seeing my ambitious desires come forth from the egg, fledged and wingled, and of striking fire (*drawing profit*) from every steel, whether lavish or sparing of its sparks; (*but now*):

"Instructed by experience, I care not if people shun me and if I never receive nor make a visit. Never, whilst I live, shall I ask if the army has marched or if the general has departed'.

---

1 All those places are mentioned in the poems composed by the Bedwin Arabs and were situated in Arabia.

2 Literally: instead of booty I was content to return. A well-known proverb.

3 For the explanation of this proverb, see Freytag's *Maidānī*, Vol. I, p. 266.

The place where I stopped was called Marw al-Shāhjān, which (*latter*) word according to the explanation given by them means *the soul of the ṣulṭān*. I found there some works treating of the sciences and of literature, volumes composed by men of intelligence, and whilst I studied them, I forgot family and country, and thought no longer of sincere friends nor of my home. Amongst them I discovered some stray volumes which I had long sought for, and some works which I had ardently desired. To them I applied with the avidity of a glutton and, having assigned to them a place from which they could easily depart, I began to browse in these gardens, to admire the beauty of their form and of their contents, to let my eyes rove freely over these pasture grounds, to enjoy these detailed accounts, these compendiums, and to think that I should remain in that quarter till I became a neighbour of (*those who repose under*) the earth :

"When adversity attacks me with troops having sadness and expatriation in the van, I lay for them an ambuscade of which the two chiefs are a lamp and a book ; and I pass the night in relating of Fortune's character, things so wonderful that their truth would excite doubt. I dispel my cares by quiet, as the cares of others are dispelled by wine."

(*So things continued*) till the catastrophe arrived by which Khurāsān was overwhelmed with ruin, with evil all-destroying and with desolation. Now, I declare on my life and by Allāh ! that it was a country beautiful in all its parts, charming in all its regions ; a fertile garden enjoying an air pure and languishing (*mild*), and in which the trees inclined their branches with delight at the singing of the birds. In it the rivulets shed tears whilst each flower smiled at the other ; the breath of the zephyr was sweet and the temperature of the climate healthy. Never shall I forget those delightful arbours and those trees sinking under (*the weight of*) their foliage. The southern gales bore thither its wine-skins filled with the liquor of the clouds; the meadows drank the wine of the dew, and on the flowers were formed drops like pearls fallen from the string. When the thirst of its groves was quenched with that liquor, their odour was the intoxicating breath of the zephyr; they drew near to each other, even closer than friend to

friend, and embraced even more tenderly than lovers. In the intervals were seen anemonies whose colours were mixed with that of the love-sick wooer[1] and which resembled the lips of two maidens who draw near, one to the other, for the purpose of giving and receiving an affectionate kiss. Their aspect sometimes deceived the most intelligent (*naḥrīr*), so that he took them for burning coals (*jumr*) on which drops of water were poured successively in order to extinguish them (*i'tilāf*)[2]. There you saw the ox-eye flourish so brilliantly that the eye of the spectator is cheered at the sight, whilts its blossoms glittered like little cymbals of gold or like dīnārs of that metal. Among them appeared the (*white flowers of the*) anthemis, shining like the teeth of the beloved when she bites the cheek of the lover. How rich (*that land*) in prospects which delight the eyes and of which the colours are charming (*rā'iq*). It is, in a word, and without exaggeration, a copy of Paradise ; there was to be found all the heart could wish for, all that could enchant the sight. Encircled with its noble endowments, if offered, throughout all its tracts, a profusion of rich products to the world. How numerous were its holy men pre-eminent for virtue (*rāqat khiyaruhu*) ! how many its doctors whose conduct had for motive the conservation of Islāmism ! The monuments of its science are inscribed on the rolls of time ; the merits of its authors have redound to the advantage of religion and of the world, and their productions have been carried into every country. Not a man of solid science and sound judgment, but emerged like the sun, from that part of the East ; not a man of extraordinary merit but took that country for his setting-place or longed to go and join its inhabitants. Every quality truly honourable and not factitious was to be found among them and, in (*the garden of*) their sayings, I was enabled to cull the roots of every generous impulse. Their children were men, their youths heroes, and their old men saints ; the testimonies of their merit are clear ; the proofs of their glory are manifest ; yet, strange to say ! the sulṭān who reigned over these provinces abandoned them

1 The text is corrupt but the meaning appears to be that which is given here. I read *shabaha* with one of the manuscript.

2 That means : the colour of these flowers was red with dark spots.

with unconcern and said to himself: 'Take the open country[1], or else you will encounter perdition'. So, he hastened off as a young ostrich runs away and, when he began to look about, where nothing was to be seen, he thought that he perceived a man or many men (*in pursuit of him*)[2]. *How many gardens, springs of water, fields of corn, honourable stations and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind!* But Almighty God *did not give the same unto another people*[3] because He averted those saints from the station of the wicked. But He put them to the proof, and found them grateful; He afflicted them, and found them patient; so He caused them to join the company of the holy martyrs and raised them to the lofty stations of the virtuous elect. *Yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye like a thing which is worse for you; but God knoweth and ye know not*[4]. The people of infidelity and impiety roamed through those abodes; that erring and contumacious race dominated over the inhabitants; so that those palaces were effaced of the earth as lines of wiring are effaced from paper, and those abodes become a dwelling for the owl and the raven; in those places, the screech-owls answer each other's cry, and in those halls, the winds moan responsive to the simoom. Old friends who enter there are filled with sadness; Iblīs himself would bewail the great catastrophe:

"(*It is now*) as if no charming companion, handsome as a statue, had ever been there; as if princely chiefs, lions in bravery (*had never resided there*). Yet, in generosity, they were Ḥātims and sons of Māmah[5]; if prudence were taken into count; they were

1 Literally: to the air.

2 For an account of Khuwārazm-Shāh's flight before the troops of Jengeez-Khan, see Abu'l-Fedā's Annals, A.H. 617.

3 *Qur'ān, sūrah* 44, verses 24,25. These verses apply to the Egyptians who went forth in pursuit of the Children of Israel. God gave their possessions to another people; so says the *Qur'ān*; but our author remarks that God did not leave those of the Khurāsanis to the invaders, because He would not treat the Musulmāns like the people of Pharaoh.

4 *Qur'an, sūrah* 2, verse 213.

5 The generosity of Ḥātim al-Tā'ī is well-known; Ka'b Ibn Māmah, one of the principal chiefs of the tribe of Iyād, was also noted for his liberality. See Freytag's *Ma'idāni*, t. I, p. 325, and Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai* t. II, pp. 1, 13.

Aḥnafs[1] and Sa'ds[2]. But time, in its vicissitudes, hath hurled them to destruction, so that fate is now a moral lesson fitted to make our hearts bleed and those of our posterity."

We belong to God and to God we shall return! It was an event sufficient to break the back, to destroy life, to fracture the arm, to weaken the strength, to redouble sadness, to turn grey the hair of children, to dishearten the brave, to blacken the heart and to stupify the intelligence. Then did your humble servant turn back and retrace his steps. Filled with grief, he sought a friendly retreat where his mind might repose in security (*he fled*), his heart beating, his tears flowing, his reason lost and his intelligence absent. It was with difficulty that he accomplished his purpose and arrived at Moṣul, where he stopped, after encountering dangers, undergoing sufferings supporting misfortunes with resignation, diminishing his baggage and, more than once, running the risk of his life. For he passed through drawn swords, troops flying in disorder, ranks broken, blood spilt with impunity. Every time he got on a camel's saddle or crossed a desert, he had these words in his mouth[3]. 'In this journey we have met with misfortune, but, praise be to God Who has left to us the power of praising Him, and Who has conferred on us favours which surpass enumeration! In a word, if the term of my life had not been appointed for a later period, it would have been difficult for my friends to have said: 'The unfortunate man has escaped or is arrived'! and they would have struck their hands like people whose hopes have been disappointed; and he would have been joined to the millions of millions, or even more, who perished by the hands of the infidels. Then he would have left his dearest treasure to her who derives subsistence from his life:

"Fortune does not appreciate my worth; she knows not that I have strength of mind and can make light of the events brought about by time. Adversity passes the night in shewing how she

---

1 See (*No. 277*) and Freytag's *Maydani* t. I, p. 396.

2 Sa'd Ibn Hudhaym هذيم died some years before the introduction of Islāmism. He was so celebrated for his wisdom that the Bedwin Arabs used to take him for judge in their contestations. (D'Horbelot, *Riblioth orientale.*)

3 Literally: this was his distinctive mark.

can transgress against me, and I pass it in letting her see what patience is."

Your humble servant now declares that he has no means of tranqulizing his mind, no promise by which to flatter his heart or his eyes, except in beguiling them with the hope that his afflictions shall disappear, once he stands in your noble presence.

"Enjoy good health, continue (*to do so*) and pass your days in pleasure; for your existence will console (*us all*) for what is past and gone. You are the soul of glory, mankind is its body; you are a pearl, and we (*possessing it*) regret not the shell".

Your humble servant is now residing at Moṣul and endeavouring to repair the harm done to him by this grave and disquieting event. He passes his time in the exercise of his profession, but Fortune is ready to say to him, in plain and intelligible language: 'By Allāh! You have fallen into your old mistake!' For now, one object occupies his thoughts and, on my life and by Allāh! that is nothing more than procuring a provision of books which he may transcribe and of (*written*) leaves which may serve him as companions; — in that occupation, his toil is great and his profit small; — then (*he thinks of*) travelling and resolves that, after accomplishing his task and attaining in some degree the object on which he has set his mind *qarūnah*, he will invoke Divine assistance and journey forth[1]. In the hope of accomplishing his wish; namely, to appear in your presence, regale his sight, even for a single moment, with the aspect of your greatness, and then, casting away the staff of travel in your specious hall, repose under the shelter of your wing till he attain the hour which is to give him (*everlasting*) repose. He will take his place among your Excellency's servants, for such he always professed himself to be, even when far from your presence; and if your Excellency take him by the hand, Fortune becoming indulgent, may exalt him after having cast him down. For, with his diminished strength, he is unable to accomplish his projects and incapable of entering the lists and encountering new hazards[2]. Besides the earth has now enclosed

1 Literally: ride on the direction of the road.

2 Literally: times; i. e. vicissitudes of fortune.

his brethern in its bosom and the succession of days and nights has removed (*most of*) his contemporaries out of sight; grayness has settled on his beard; his means are insufficient for (*the satisfying of*) his wants; the falcon of hoary age has swooped at and seized on the raven (*the black hair*) of his youth; the daylight of prudence has invaded and repelled the night of ignorance; the services he rendered to his friends have been rapaid with evil[1], and the brilliant garment of youth he has exchanged for the tattered cloak of hoary age:

"My youth departed and was ended before I enjoyed it since it left me I can only expect death. Old age precludes me from attaining what I seek for."

Your humble servant composed the following elegy in verse on the loss of his youth, but how little does it avail (*ghanā*) a man to weep for those who are deposited in the earth amongst mouldering bones:

"Since my hair has turned gray, Fortune knows me no more, and the marks by which she is distinguished can no longer be recognised by me[2]. When my soul thinks of it (*my youth*), it yearns for it with longing desire and my eyes pour forth tears; till a time comes to embellish what has passed away and recollection supplies me with abundant sighs. Why not? since nought (*lammā*) remains in the bottom of my drinking-cup but a mere mouthful, filled with grounds. The contents of every goblet are clear at first, but in the bottom are found only a few drugs (*muzjā-hum-āt*) and some sediment'.

Your humble servant hopes that the above example of senile garrulity will obtain from you a glance of benevolence; for assuredly, the judgment of our lord and master, the Wazīr, of him who is the asylum of the human race, from east to west, procures,

---

1 The word خصيصة which is not rendered in the translation, may perhaps signify: which is a case particular to him alone.

2 Or else: her favours are denials. The two words are also technical terms of Arabic grammar and, in that case, they signify: her definite (*nouns*, i.e. gifts) are, for me, indefinite; which may mean: I obtain them not.

when he applies, it, according to his glorious custom, an increase of rank and honour (*for him who is the object of it. Receive my*) salutation".

I have lengthened greatly this article, by the insertion of Yaqūt's epistle, but it was impossible to give it by extracts. My friend (*ṣāḥib*) al-Kamāl Ibn al-Shi'ār al-Mawṣilī[1] writes as follows, in his work entitled '*Uqūd al-Jumān (clusters of pearls)* : "Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Najjār (*No.* 5, *note*) and the author of a history of Baghdād, spoke to me in these terms: 'The above mentioned Yāqūt recited to me the following three lines and told me that he had composed them on a young Turkish slave who, having inflamed eyes, wore a black veil to protect them :

"That Turkish youth whose face might be taken for a full moon shining in all its refulgence, shades his eyes with the border of a veil (*lit.* of a protector) to prevent their brightness from fascinating his admirers. But, by Allāh ! since these eyes have wounded hearts through coats of mail, what is there to protect the protector ! "

Yaqūt was born in the country of the Greeks (*Asia Minor*), in the year 574 (A.C. 1178-9) or 575". So says the author just cited. He died on the 21st of the month of Ramaḍān, 626 (13th August, A.C. 1229), in a Khān situated outside the city of Aleppo, as we have already mentioned towards the beginning of this article. He left his books as a *waqf*[2] to the mausoleum (*mash-had*) of al-Zaydī (?),* which, establishment is situated in Dīnār street (*Darb dīnar*), Baghdād. He delivered them to 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr (*No. 435*), the author of the great historical work, and this *shaykh* carried them to their destination. When Yāqūt rose to destinction and got into reputation he changed his name into Ya'qūb. In the beginning

---

1 Abu'l Barakāt al-Mubārak Ibn Hamdān Ibn al-Shi'ār الشعار surnamed Kamāl al-Dīn al-Mawsilī (*belonging to Moṣul*) composed a voluminous work on the poets of the seventh century of the Hijrah. He died A. H. 654 (A. C. 1256-7). (Ḥājjī Khalīfah *Ghirbāl al-Zamān*).

2 See (*No. 21, note*) and (*No. 756, note*).

* 'Abd al-Hamid gives : al-Masjid (the mosque) al-Zaydi.—Ed.

of the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 626 (in the latter part of September, A.C. 1229), I arrived at Aleppo for the purpose of pursuing my studies. This was subsequent to Yāqūt's death; and I found every one speaking in his praise, extolling his merit and his great literary requirements. It was not therefore in my destiny to meet with him.

764 YAḤYĀ IBN MA'ĪN.

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn Ibn 'Awn Ibn Ziyād Ibn Bisṭām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, a native of Baghdād and a celebrated *ḥāfiẓ*, was a doctor of the highest authority, deeply learned and noted for the exactitude of his (*traditional*) information. He came, it is said, from a village situated near al-Anbār and called Naqiya.* His father was secretary to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik[1], or according to another statement, he was chief of the *kharāj* (*or land-tax*) offices at Ray. He left, on his death, a sum of one million and fifty thousand dirhams[2] to his son Yaḥyā. All this sum was spent by the latter in (*collecting*) Traditions, so that, at length, he had not a shoe to put on. Being asked how many Traditions he had written down, he answered: "I wrote down with my own hand six hundred thousand Traditions." Aḥmad Ibn 'Uqbah, the person who related this anecdote, said: "And I believe that the relators of Traditions had also written out for him six hundred thousand as much more." (*When Ibn Ma'īn died*) he left one hundred and thirty cases filled with books and four water-jar stands filled with them also. He was the great

1 "In the year 192 (A. C. 807-8) 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik marched with a body of ten thousand men against the Khurramiyah (*the partisans of Bābak*) who were stirring up troubles in Adharbā'ijān. After killing and taking prisoners (*many of the insurgents*), he returned victorious."—(*Nujūm.*)

2 Upwards of twenty thousand pounds sterling.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Naqayāya.—Ed.

master in the art of *improbation and justification*[1]. The most eminent doctors learned Traditions from him and taught them on his authority. Amongst them were Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhāri (*No. 543*), Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayri (*No. 690*), Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (*No. 254*) and other *ḥafizes*. A close fellowship and intimacy subsisted between him and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*), and they studied together all the sciences connected with the Traditions. This is a fact so well known that we need not expatiate on the subject. He (*Ibn Ḥanbal*) and Abū Khaythamah[2] related Traditions on his (*Ibn Ma'īn's*) authority, and were his contemporaries. 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī[3] said : "In Baṣrah, the science (*of the law and the Traditions*) passed down to Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Kathīr[4] and Qatādah (*No. 516*); in Kūfah, it reached Abū Isḥāq (*No. 477*) and al-A'mash (*No. 253*); the science of Ḥijāz passed to Ibn Shihāb (*No. 537*) and 'Amr Ibn Dīnār (*No. 249, note*). All these six were at Baṣrah, and what they knew was transmitted to Sa'īd Ibn Abī 'Arūbah[5], Shu'bah (*No. 207, note*), Ma'mar[6], Ḥammād Ibn Salamah (*No. 112, note*), and Abū

---

1 The science called *Tajrīḥ wa ta'dīl* (*improbation and justification*) had for object to determine the degree of credibility to which every witness in a court of law and every reporter of Traditions were entitled. For that purpose, it was necessary to study the life of the individual. The requisite points in a Traditionist were good conduct, piety, veracity, exactness and a retentive memory.

2 Abū Khaythamah, Zuhayr Ibn Ḥarb al-Nasā'ī, an eminent Traditionist, was distinguished for learning and piety. Nasā was his native place, but he travelled to many countries and afterwards settled at Baghdād. He died in the month of Sha'bān, 234 (March, A.C. 849),—(*Nujūm*; *Ḥuffāẓ*.)

3 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamd Ibn al-Madīnī, was a Traditonist of the highest authority. He died at Madīnah, in the month of Dhu al-Qadah, 234 (May-June, A.C. 849).—(*Nujūm*; *Ḥuffāẓ*).

4 Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Kathīr al-Yamānī, named also Ṣāliḥ Ibn al-Mutawakkil, was a Traditionist of considerable reputation. He died A.H. 128 (A.C. 745-6), according to the author of the *Nujūm*; in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, his death is placed a year later.

5 Abu 'l-Naṣr Sa'īd Ibn Abī 'Arūbah a Traditionist of Baṣrah died A. H. 156 (A.C. 772-3), or 157.—*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*; *Ḥuffāẓ*.)

6 Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid al-Ḥarrānī al-Basrī, a Traditionist of good authority, died A. H. 152 (A. C. 769), or 153.—(*Ḥuffāẓ*).

'Awānah[1]. At Kūfah the heads of the science were Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No. 248*) and Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*) ; in Ḥijāz its head was Mālik Ibn Anas (*No. 524*); in Syria, its head was al-Awzā'ī (*No. 336*). The knowledge possessed by these passed to Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq (*No. 586*) Hushaym (*No. 84, note*) Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd (*No. 586, note*) Ibn Abī Zā'idah, Wakī' (*No. 149, note*), Ibn al-Mubārak *(No. 300)*, who was the most learned of them all, Ibn Mahdī[2] and Yaḥyā Ibn Ādam[3]. The united knowledge of them all passed to Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn." Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal declared that every Tradition which was not known to Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn was not a (*true*) Tradition. He said also: "There is in this place a man whom God created for the purpose of exposing the falsehood of lying Traditionists;" and the person whom he meant was Ibn Ma'īn. "Never," said Ibn al-Rūmī[4], did I hear any one except Ibn Ma'īn speak equitably of the *shaykhs (the Traditionists)* ; others fall upon them in their discourse, but Yaḥyā *(Ibn Ma'īn)* would say : 'I never saw a man make a mistake without my casting a veil over his fault or trying to excuse him ; and I never reproached a man, to his face, with anything that might displease him ; I preferred pointing out to him, in a private conference, the mistake into which he had fallen and, if he did not take my observations well, I left him there'." He used also to say: "I wrote down (*quantities of Traditions)* under the dictation of liars, and made use of the paper for heating my oven ; I thus obtained *(at least one advantage)*, bread well baked." He sometimes recited these lines :

"Wealth gained by lawful or unlawful means will all disappear, leaving nothing behind but the iniquities it wrought. The devout

---

1 The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Awānah al-Waḍḍāḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh, was a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Yashkur. He died at Baṣrah in the month of the 1st Rabī' 176 (June-July, A. C. 792).—(*Nujūm ; Ḥuffāẓ*).

2 Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mahdī, an inhabitant of Baṣrah and a *ḥāfiz* of the highest authority, died in that city, A. H. 198 (A.C. 813-4), at the age of sixty-three years.—(*Nūjūm ; Ḥuffāz.*)

3 The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Zakriyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ādam آدم was a Traditionist of the highest authority. He died A. H. 203 (A.C. 818-19).—*Ḥuffāẓ.*)

4 The Ibn al-Rūmī here mentioned speaks of Ibn Ma'īn as if he had conversed with him and could appreciate his merit. He cannot therefore be the poet of that name (see *No. 438*), who was only twelve years of age when Ibn Ma'īn died.

man does not really fear God unless he gains honestly what he eats and drinks. (*His heart*) concealed within him should be pure, as also the work of his hands, and his words should be employed only in virtuous discourse[1]. Thus hath the Prophet spoken in the name of the Lord, so, the blessing of the Lord and His salutation be on the Prophet".

Al-Dāraquṭnī *(No. 409)* mentions Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn as one of those who delivered Traditions received by him orally from al-Shāfi'ī *(No. 532)*. In our article on the latter, we have spoken of Ibn Ma'īn's conduct towards him and of what passed, on that occasion, between Ibn Ma'īn and the *Imām* Aḥmad *(Ibn Ḥanbal)*. Ibn Ma'īn heard also Traditions delivered by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah and others of the same class. When he made the pilgrimage which he frequently did, he used to go to Makkah, in passing through Madīnah. The last time he went, he visited Madīnah on going and, on his return, he stayed there three days. Having then set out with his fellow-travellers, he stopped with them at the first halting-place in order to pass the night, and he had a dream in which he heard a voice call out to him, saying! "O Abū Zakariyā! dost thou then dislike my neighbourhood[2]?" When the morning came, he said to his companions! "Continue your journey; as for me, I return to Madinah". They did so, and he went back to that city where he passed three days and then died. His corpse was borne to the grave on the bier which had been made use of at the Prophet's burial. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) says, in his History of Baghdād, that Ibn Ma'īn's death took place on the 23rd of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 233,* but he is certainly mistaken, as I shall here prove: Ibn Ma'īn went to Makkah and made the pilgrimage, after which, he returned to Madīnah and there died. But how is it possible that a man who has made the pilgrimage could die, the same year in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah[3]? Had the Khaṭīb said that he died

1 This hemistich may also be rendered thus: his discourse should consist in Traditions only.

2 Muḥammad's tomb is at Madīnah.

3 The pilgrimage takes place in Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, the month which immediately follows Dhu 'l-Qa'dah.

* 29 June, A.C. 848.—Ed.

Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, the thing had been possible. Some persons suppose that the mistake was committed by the transcriber of the work, but I found, in two copies of it, that the passage is the same as we have just given. It is therefore difficult to admit that the error proceeded from the copyist. Further on, the same author says that he died before accomplishing the pilgrimage. In that case, the date which he gives might pass for correct; but I since met with a historical work entitled: *Kitāb al-Irshād fī ma'rifat 'Ulamā il-Bilād (the directory, containing information respecting the learned men of all countries)*, and compiled by the ḥāfiẓ Abū Ya'la 'l-Khalīl Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī[1] and, in it I read that Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn died on the 22nd of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, in the year above mentioned (28th July, A.C. 848). From this it appears that he did make the pilgrimage. The Khaṭīb states also that he was born in the later part of the year 158 and then adds: "He died at the age of seventy-seven years, wanting ten days". This cannot be, as will be found of the calculations be made. In another historical work I read that he lived to the age of seventy-five years. God knows best! The funeral prayer was said over the body by the governor of Madīnah and was afterwards repeated several times. Ibn Ma'īn was buried in the Baqī' cemetery. When they were carrying him to the grave, a man preceded them, crying out: "This is he who expelled falsehoods from the Traditions left by the Prophet of God." A Traditionist composed on his death an elegy in which he said:

"He is departed, that learned man who corrected the faults of every Traditionist, cleared up the contradictions in the *isnāds*, and dissipated the doubts and ambiguities which perplexed the learned of all countries".

The word معين must be pronounced *Ma'īn*. *Bisṭāmī* has an *i* after the *b*; remarks on the other letters are needless; I read in a

---

1 Abū Ya'la 'l-Khalīlī's work treated of the persons who transmitted Traditions. He composed another work bearing also the titles of *Irshād* and containing a history of Qazwīn, his native place. As a *ḥāfiẓ*. he held a high reputation. He died in the latter half of the fifth century of the Ḥijrah (A. C. 1059-1106).—(Ḥājī Khalīfah; *Ḥuffāẓ*.)

historical work that Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn was the grandson of Ghiyāth, the son of Ziyād, the son of 'Awn, the son of Bisṭām, who was a *mawlā* of al-Junayd Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghaṭafānī al-Murrī, the same who governed Khurāsān in the name of the Umayyad Khalif Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The genealogy given at the beginning of this article is that which is generally accepted as the more correct. *Murrī* means *belonging to the tribe of Murrah*, who was a descendant of Ghaṭafān, being the son of 'Awf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Dhubyān Ibn Baghīḍ Ibn Rayth Ibn Ghaṭafān. It is a large and famous tribe. A great number of Arabian tribes bear this name. Al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) says, in his *Ansāb*: "نقيا* may be pronounced *Naqiyā or Naqayā.* It is the name of a village near al-Anbār. From it came Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn al-Naqayā'ī". The Khaṭīb says that the Pharaoh was a native of this village; God knows best!

765 YAḤYĀ IBN YAḤYĀ.

Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Laythī was the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Kathīr, the son of Wislāsin or Wislās, the son of Shammāl, the son of Manghāyā. He drew his origin from the Masmūdah, a Barbar tribe which had contracted clientship with the (*Arabian*) tribe of Layth. He, for that reason, bore the appellation of *al-Laythī.* His grandfather, Abū 'Īsā Kathīr, the first of the family who passed into Spain, fixed his residence in Cordova. It was there that he *(Yaḥyā)* heard *(the lessons)* of Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ziyād al-Lakhmī, surnamed Shabaṭūn†,[1] who was a

[1] I follow the orthography of one MS. and of the printed text of Maqqarī's *Spanish History.* Abū 'Abd Allāh Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, generally known by the name of Shaba ūn was a native of Cordova and a doctor of the rite of Mālik. It was he who first introduced into Spain the system of jurisprudence drawn up by that imām and who taught there the *Muwaṭṭā* (*No. 524, note*). Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the second Umayyad sovereign of Spain

(*Continued on page* 219)

* نقيائي in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Basabṭūn and its variation as Sabaṭūn in the margin.—Ed.

native of that city and the person who *(there)* knew best by heart and could dictate the contents of the *Muwaṭṭā* composed by Mālik Ibn Anas *(No. 524)*. He heard also Traditional information delivered by Yaḥyā Ibn Muḍar al-Qaysī, a native of Spain. At the age of twenty eight years he travelled to the East and learned perfectly the *Muwaṭṭā* under the dictation of Mālik, with the exception of some paragraphs, belonging to the chapter which treats of the spiritual retreat[1]. Not being sure of having heard these passages well, he learned to repeat them correctly under the direction of Ziyād. At Makkah he heard *(Traditional information delivered by)* Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*) and, in Miṣr (*Old Cairo*) he received lessons from al-Layth Ibn Sa'd *(No. 523)* 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb *(No. 302)* and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim (*No. 337*). After attending assiduously the lessons of Mālik and profiting greatly by his tuition, he studied the law under the principal disciples of that *imām*, both those of Madīnah and those of Miṣr. Mālik used to call him the *'āqil (*or *intelligent man)* of Spain. His motif for doing so is thus related : Yaḥyā was, one day, at Mālik's lecture with a number of fellow-students, when some one said : "Here comes the elephant" ! All of them ran out to see the animal, but Yaḥyā did not stir. "Why", said Mālik, "do you not go out and look at it ? such animals are not to be seen in Spain". To this Yaḥyā replied : "I left my country for the purpose of seeing you and obtaining knowledge under your guidance ; I did not come here for the purpose of seeing the elephant." Mālik was so highly pleased with this answer that he called him the *'āqil* of the people of Spain. Some time after, Yaḥyā returned to Spain and, having become chief *(of the 'ulamā)* he propagated throughout all that country the system of law drawn up by Mālik. It was accepted by immense multitudes,

---

(*Continued from page* 218)
wished to have him for a *qāḍī* at Cordova, but could never obtain his consent. Ibn Ziyād died A.H. 204 (A.C. 819-20), or 193, according to another statement. It was by his advice that Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā travelled to the East for the purpose of studying under Mālik.—(Gayangos's *Maqqarī*, (*Vol. II*, p. 100, *et sec*).

1 The spiritual retreat (*i'tikāf*) consists in remaining some days and nights successively in a mosque and passing that time in prayer, fasting and meditation.

and the number of persons who taught the doctrines which they had learned from him was very great. The best edition[1] of the *Muwaṭṭā* and that which has the greatest reputation was given *(orally)* by Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā. By his rectitude and piety he obtained the highest respect from the amīrs *(the men in power)* and acquired great influence over them ; such was his self-denial, that he scrupulously avoided accepting any office under government. The elevated rank which he held *(in public estimation)* was much superior to that of a *qāḍī*, and his refusal, through religious motives, to accept such an office gave him more influence over men in power than any *qāḍī* could possess. The Spanish writer, Abū Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn Ḥazm *(No. 423)*, says : "Two systems of law were at first promulgated by persons in power and high station : that of Abū Ḥanīfah *(No. 738)* and that of Mālik. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah,"—we shall give his life,—"being appointed (*chief*) *qāḍī*, acquired, the right of nominating all the others, and there was not a city, from the far east to the most distant of the African provinces, in which he did not establish, as a *qāḍī*, one of his own disciples or one of those who professed his doctrines. Here, in Spain, we adopted the system of Mālik for the following reason : Yaḥyā Ibn Yahyā was in high favour with the ṣulṭān, and his advice in whatever concerned *(the nomination of) qāḍīs* was always followed. So, no *qāḍī*, was ever appointed to act in any part of the Spanish provinces till Yaḥyā had given his opinion and pointed out the person whom he preferred. He never designated any person for that office except one of his own disciples or of those who followed his doctrines. Now, as all men hasten towards that which is advantageous for them in the world, they adopted willingly what they hoped would conduce to their interest. I must add that Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā never filled the duties of a *qāḍī* and would never consent to accept such a place. This line of conduct served to augment his influence with the men in power and disposed them to follow more readily his advice".

---

1 Literally : *recital.* The contents of those classical works were taught orally, the professor knowing them by heart.

The following anecdote is related by Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyāḍ[1] in the work composed by him: The Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed al-Murtaḍā[2] and the *(fourth)* Umayyad sovereign of Spain, convoked, by letter, the jurisconsults into his presence, and they all went to the palace. It was in Ramaḍān, *(the month of strict abstinence)*, and he, happening to look at one of his concubines whom he loved passionately, was so much excited (*by her beauty*) that he lost all self-command and had commerce with her. He then regretted deeply what he had done and consulted these doctors respecting the mode of manifesting his repentance and expiating his sin. Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā replied: 'A sin of that kind can be expiated by a fast of two consecutive months'. As he had hastened to give this opinion *(fatwā)* before the others had time to speak, they kept silent, but, on leaving 'Abd al-Raḥmān's presence, they spoke to each other of what had passed and then said to Yaḥyā: 'What prevented you from giving a *fatwā* conformable to the doctrine of Mālik ?' That *imām* said 'He who sins thus has the choice of manumitting *(a slave)* or giving food *(to the poor)*, or of keeping a fast'. To this he answered: 'Had we opened to him such a door as that, he would satisfy his passion every day and repair his fault by freeing a slave. So I imposed on him the severest penalty in order to prevent him from relapsing'. When Yaḥyā left Mālik, with the intention of returning to his native country, he went to Miṣr and found there 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim, who was occupied in making a written compilation of the doctrines which he had learned from Mālik. (*On seeing this collection*) he resolved on hastening back and hear Mālik himself treat the questions which Ibn al-Qāsim had enregistered. He therefore travelled (*to Madīnah*) a second time and, finding, on his arrival, that Mālik was very ill, he stayed with him till he expired. After attending the funeral, he returned to Ibn al-Qāsim, who recited to him the

1 This author is not mentioned by Ḥājji Khalīfah and al-Maqqarī merely informs us that the subject of his work was historical. According to an indication given by Ibn al-Athīr in his *Kāmil*, it contained information respecting the Abbāsid dynasty. See Mr. Dozy's *Historia Abbadidarum*, IInd part, p. 34

2 This is a mistake; his surname was *al-Muẓaffar*.

doctrines such as he heard them from Mālik's own lips. Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn al-Faraḍī *(No. 326)* mentions that fact in his historical work, with some other particulars of the same kind. When Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā returned to Spain, he became the paragon of the age and had none to equal him in that country. He was a man of great intelligence. Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Lubābah[1] said : "The (*great*) jurisconsult of Spain is 'Īsā Ibn Dīnār[2]; its most learned man is 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb[3], and its most intelligent man is Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā." Yaḥyā, being suspected of having had a share in the *(great)* revolt[4], fled to Toledo and then solicited a letter of protection, which was granted to him by the Amīr al-Ḥakam. He then returned to Cordova. "Never", said Aḥmad Ibn Khālid[5], "since the time of the introduction of

---

1 Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Lubābah (لبابة), a native of Spain, a teacher of Mālikite jurisprudence and a Traditionist, died A.H. 314 (A.C. 926-7).—(Gayangos's *Maqqarī*, and the Arabic edition of the same work.)

2 According to al-Maqqari, this 'Īsā Ibn Dīnār was a jurisconsult and composed a work entitled *al-Hidāyah* (*the guide*) ? He left Cordova during the reign of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the second Umayyad sovereign, and travelled to the East, where he studied the law under Mālik.

3 Abu Marwān 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb was a native of Cordova and one of the Spanish doctors who travelled to the East for the purpose of studying under Mālik. He contributed to the introduction of that imām's doctrines into Spain. Al-Ḍabbī places his death in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah 239 (May, A. C. 854). See Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica Hispanica*, t. II, p. 138. According to the authority followed by Mr. de Gayangos' (*Maqqarī, vol. I, p. 343*) he died at Cordova, A.H. 238, after composing not less than one thousand works or treatises on various subjects.

4 This is the famous revolt of the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of Cordova which took palce A.H. 198 (A.C. 814), under the reign of al-Ḥakam Ibn Hishām. A full and exact account of this event, which led to the conquest of Crete by these suburabians (*Rabaḍis*), is contained in Mr. Dozy's *Historie des Musulmans* d'Espagne, t. II, p. 68 *et seq.*

5 Aḥmad Ibn Khālid, a doctor of the law and a Traditionist, was a contemporary of Ibn Lubābah (see *note 1* above). The Umayyad sovereign 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāsir esteemd him so highly that he had him brought to Cordova and lodged in one of the houses belonging to the mosque near the palace. He allowed him a daily ration of provisions and made him considerable presents. The enemies of Ibn Khālid reproached him for accepting these favours, and he composed a work in vindication of his conduct.—(*Maqqari*, Arabic text, vol. II, p. 158).

Islāmism, did any of the learned in Spain enjoy such good fortune, such influence and such a reputation as Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā". Ibn Bashkuwāl (*No. 206*) says, in his Historical work: "The prayers which Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā addressed to God were always fulfilled. In his appearance, dress and manner of sitting he greatly resembled Mālik. It is related that he said: 'I (*one day*) went to take hold of the stirrup of al-Layth Ibn Sa'd (*No. 523*), and his servant boy tried to prevent me, on which he addressed to me these words: 'You shall have all the learned men for servants': and that I have lived long enough to witness." The same author adds: "Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā died in the month of Rajab, 234 (Feb., A.C. 849). His tomb is situated in the cemetery of the 'Abbāsids, and prayers are offered up at it in times of drought." This cemetery lies outside Cordova. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydi* *(No. 590)* informs us, moreover, that he died on the 22nd of that month. Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn al-Faraḍī states that his death took place in 233, or, by another account, in 234 and in the month of Rajab. God knows best. *Wislās or Wislāsin* is a Barbar word which signifies *he hears them*[1]. *Shammāl* is pronounced with an *a* after the *sh* and a double *m*. *Manghāyā* signifies *a killer* in Barbar[2]. We have already spoken of the words Laythī *(No. 481)* *Barbar (No. 15)* and *Māṣmūdah, (No. 662)*.

766 YAḤYĀ IBN AKTHAM.

Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Sam'ān Ibn Mushannaj al-Tamīmī al-Usayyidi al-Marwazī (*a member of the tribe of Usayyid, which was a branch of that of Tamīm, and a native of Marw*) drew his descent from

1 The word *islāssin* is barbar and signifes *he heard them.*

2 In Barbar, the root *angh* or *engh* انغ signifies *to kill. A killer* or murderer is designated by the words *inigh* or *inghān.* The same root appears in the name of *Manghāyā,* which, however has not a Barbar form,

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : al-Mahdī.—Ed.

Aktham Ibn al-Ṣayfī, the judge of the Arabs[1]. He was learned in the law and sagacious in his judgement. Al-Dāraquṭnī *(No. 409)* mentions him as having been one of al-Shāfi'i's (*No.* 532) disciples, and the Khaṭīb *(No. 33)* says, in his History of Baghdād: "Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham was untainted with heresy and followed the doctrine professed by the people of the *Sunnah (the orthodox)*. He heard *(Traditions)* from 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (*No. 300*). Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah *(No. 249)* and others". We have already related, in our article on Sufyān, what passed between Yaḥyā and that doctor. "Traditions were delivered on his authority by Abū 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī *(No. 587)* and others". Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far[2] said of him: "Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham was a man of note in the world; his proceedings and his history are well known; neither the great nor small are ignorant of his merit, his learning, the high authority which he held and the skill with which he minded his own interest and those of the khalifs and sovereigns who were his contemporaries. He possessed an extensive knowledge of jurisprudence, great literary acquirement, singular skill in the conduct of affairs[3] and the talent of surmounting difficulties". He obtained such influence over al-Māmūn's mind that no one could surpass him in that khālif's favour. Al-Māmūn himself was versed in the sciences; so, when he knew the character of Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham and perceived that he held the highest station in learning, he set his whole heart on him and went so far as to appoint him to the office of *qāḍi 'l-quḍāt*[4] and confide to him the administration of his subjects The wazīrs charged with the direction of public affairs took no decision without submitting

1 Aktham Ibn Al-Ṣayfī, a chief of the Tamīm tribe, was so highly renowned for his wisdom, that the Arabs of all the tribes used to take him for judge in their contestations. He died towards the fifth year of Muḥammad's preaching, having then attained a very advanced age. (See Mr. Causin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, t. II, p. 579; *Ibn al-Jawzī*; *Ibn Durayd.*)

2 Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far was one of the witnesses who signed the Khalif al-Muṭī's (المطيع) abdication. This took place A. H. 363 (A.C. 974). (*Nujūm*).

3 The Arabic word is "المعارضة" but one of the MSS. has "العارضة". If this reading. be adopted, the meaning is *speaking with elegance*.

4 The *qāḍi 'l-quḍāt* (*qāḍi of qāḍīs* or lord chief justice), resided in the capital and had all the other *qāḍīs* under his jurisdiction.

it to Yaḥyā for his approval. We know of no person's having ever obtained such complete influence over the mind of his sovereign except Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā (*No. 765*) and Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād (*No. 31*). A person, noted for speaking with great elegance, being asked which of the two, Yaḥyā Ibn Ak͟tham or Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, was the better man, he answered in these terms: "Aḥmad was grave with his concubine and with his daughter; Yaḥyā was gay with his adversaries and his enemies; Yaḥyā was untained with heresy and followed the orthodox doctrine, whilst Aḥmad was quite the contrary." In our article on Aḥmad we have said some words of his religious belief and of his partiality for the Mu'tazalites. Yaḥyā was heard to say: "The *Qur'ān* is the word of God, and whoever says that it is created should be invited to abandon that opinion; and if he do not, his head should be struck off." The jurisconsult Abu'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Us͟hnuhī[1] surnamed Zayn al-Dīn, mentions, in his treatise on the partition of heredita-ments (*farāiḍ*), the problems designated by surnames[2], and, amongst them, that one which is called the *Māmūniyan* (*al-Māmūniyah*) and which is the fourteenth in order. It runs thus: (*A person died, leaving*) father and mother and two daughters. Before the inheritance was shared (*between them*) one of the daughters died, leaving (*as survivor*) the other persons specified in the problem[3]. It was called the *Māmūniyan* for the following

1 Abu 'l-Fad' 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Al-Us͟hnuhī, a doctor of S͟hāfi'ite juris-prudence, was a native of Us͟hnuh, a village near Arbela, in Ād͟harbā'ijān. He studied the law at Bag͟hdād and composed, on the *farā'iḍ*, or partition of inheritances, a work of great repute. He afterwards returned to Us͟hnuh where he died in the first fifth of the sixth century, (A.H. 501-520); A.C. 1107-1126). (*Ṭabaqāt al-S͟hāfi'īn;* ms. of the Bibl. imp. ancien. fonds, no 861).

2 In the science which treats of the partition of inheritances, some problems occur which are so remarkable that each of them is distinguished by a particular name; such, for instance, as the *Akdarian*, the *G͟harūryan*, the *Malikiyan*, the *Ḥimāriyan*, etc. On this subject the reader may consult the 6th volume of Dr. Perron's translation of Sidī K͟halīl's treatise on Mālikite jurisprudence. This work is included in the collection entitled *Exploration Scientifique de l'-Algerie.*

3 The parents and the two daughters were, each of them, entitled to a certain portion of the inheritance; but, as one of the daughters died before the partition, her share was to be divided among the survivors. In this case, two separate calculations must be made.

reason : (*The Khalif*) al-Māmūn wished to find a man fit to act as a *qāḍī* and hearing of Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham's talents, he had him sent for. Yaḥyā, being introduced, saw clearly that the khalif disdained him on account of his low stature; on which he said: "Commander of the faithfull! it is for my learning that you require me and not for my stature, ask me a question." Al-Māmūn proposed to him the one above mentioned and Yaḥyā answered: "Commander of the faithful! was the person who died first a male or a female?" The khalif perceived immediately that he was acquainted with the problem and appointed him *qāḍī*. In this problem, if the first who died was a male, the two questions (*to which it gives rise*) can be resolved by (*dividing the inheritance into*) fifty four (*equal parts*); and if the first who died was a female, the grandfather (*of the daughters*), could not inherit in the second case (*that is on the death of the daughter*) because he is a father of a mother (*the maternal grandfather*; and the questions (*involved in the problem*) can both be resolved by (*dividing the inheritance into*) eighteen parts[1]. The Khaṭīb says in his History of Baghdād: "Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham was nominated as *qāḍī* of Baṣrah at the age of twenty years or thereabouts. The people of that city found him look so young that they asked each other of what age he might be. Yaḥyā, being informed of this, spoke (*to them*) as follows: 'I am older than 'Attāb Ibn Asīd[2] whom the Prophet sent to act as a *qāḍī* in Makkah; I am older than Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal[3], whom the Prophet sent to act as a *qāḍī* for the people of Yamān; and I am older than Ka'b Ibn Sūr[4], who was sent by 'Umar Ibn al-

---

1 For the rules of inheritance partitions, see Dr. Perron's *Sidī Khalīl*, vol. VI; D'Ohsson's *Tableau general de* l'Empire Othoman, V., p. 288, and the *Note sur les successions musulamanes*, which was drawn up by Mr. Solvet and inserted in Mr. Bresnier's *Chrestormathier arabe*.

2 'Attāb Ibn Asīd, a member of the Umayyad family, was appointed governor of Makkah by Muḥammad. He died A. H. 13 (A. C. 634), the same day as Abū Bakr. (*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*).

3 Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal, of the tribe of Khazraj, was a native of Madīnah and one of Muḥammad's companions. He died A.H. 18 (A. C. 639), aged thirty-eight years.—(*Ma'ārif.*)

4 Ka'b Ibn Ṣūr belonged to the tribe of Azd. He joined the party of 'Āyishah and lost his life at the battle of the Camel, A.H. 36 (A.C. 656).—(*Ma'ārif*).

Khaṭṭāb to act as a *qāḍī* for the people of Baṣrah'. In making this answer he produced his own justification". The Prophet nominated 'Aṭṭāb Ibn Asīd, *qāḍī* of Makkah, on the taking of that city, and he (*'Attāb*) was then twenty-one years of age, or twenty-three, according to another statement. He became a Muslim on the day in which Makkah was taken, and addressed these words to the Prophet : "I shall be your Companion and never quit you" ; on which the Prophet said to him : "Would you not consent to my appointing you over the family of God" ? 'Attāb continued to act as their *qāḍī* till he died. *(The Khaṭīb)* adds: Yaḥyā remained a year without receiving any one as a (*competent*) witness[1]. One of the *amīns* (*syndics of corporation*) then went to him and said : "O *Qāḍī* ! you have put a stop to all proceedings and made too long a delay[2]. 'How so' ? said Yaḥyā. 'Because', said the *amīn*, 'you who are the *qāḍī* will receive no one as a witness'. In consequence of this remonstrance, he authorised, that very day, seventy persons of the city to act as witnesses". Another author states that Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham was appointed *qāḍī* of Baṣrah in the year 202 (A.C. 817-18). We have already mentioned, in the life of Ḥammād Ibn Abī Ḥanīfah *(No. 195)* that Yaḥyā succeeded Ismā'īl, the son of that Ḥammād, in the qāḍīship of Baṣrah. 'Umar Ibn Shabbah *(No. 466)* relates in his *Kitāb Akhbār al-Baṣrah (History of Baṣrah)* that the qāḍīship of Baṣrah was taken from Yaḥyā in the year 210. Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr[3] relates as follows : "We were with al-Māmūn, on our way to Syria, when he ordered a proclamation to be made declaring *mut'ah (temporary)* marriages to be lawful. On this Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham said to me and Abu 'l-'Aynā (*No. 617*) 'Tomorrow morning, early, go both of you[4] to him and, if you find an opportunity of speaking (*to him on the subject*) do so ; if

---

1 According to the Muslim law of testimony, none but persons noted for integrity and piety can be received either as witnesses in a court of justice or as witnesses to bonds and deeds.

2 I read تربثت.

3 This person is not known to the translator.

The regular and incorrect form غدا, employed here instead of اغدوا, is worthy of remark.

not, remain silent till I go in.' We went there and found him with a toothpick in his hand and exclaiming, in a violent passion : 'Two *mut'ahs* occurred in the time of the Prophet of God and in that of Abū Bakr; and shall I forbid the practice ? Who are you, vile scarabee ! to dare forbid me to follow what was practised by the 'Prophet of God and by Abū Bakr ' ? On this, Abū 'l-'Aynā made me a sign and said : 'Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr ! that is a man who is capable of attributing to 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb what he has just said; how can we speak to him[1] ? ' So we held our peace. Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham then came in and sat down. We sat down also, and al-Māmūn said to him: 'Why do I see you look so troubled ? ' Yaḥyā answered : 'Commander of the faithful ! it is with grief for a novelty introduced into Islāmism.' 'What novelty ?' said the khalif. Yaḥyā replied : 'A proclamation has been made declaring *mut'ah* marriages lawful, declaring fornication lawful.' 'Fornication ?' exclaimed al-Māmūn. 'Yes ; *mut'ah* is fornication ! ' On what authority do you say so ? ' 'On that of the book of Almighty God and of a declaration made by His Prophet. God said : *Now are the true believers happy*, and so forth to the words : *and those who keep themselves from carnal knowledge of any except their wives or the* (slaves) whom their right hands possess ; *and who so coveteth any* (woman) *beyond these, they are transgressors*[2]. Commander of the faithful ! a *mut'ah* wife—is she a woman possessed by the right hand (*a slave*) ? ' The khalif answered: 'No !' 'Is she a wife who can inherit and be inherited of lawfully in the sight of God ? a wife bearing legitimate children ? one whose marriage is regulated by lawful conditions' ? 'The khalif answered : 'No'. 'Then', replied Yaḥyā, 'whoever passes these two limits is a transgressor. Commander of the faithful ! there is al-Zuhrī (*No. 537*) who related on the authority of 'Abd Allāh and al-

---

1 The text of this passage is corrupt. The edition of Būlāq inserts وقال before رجل and two manuscripts read بكلمه instead of نكلمه. I believe the right reading to be فلوى ابوالعيناء الى وقال محمد and, as such, I adopt it. The reading ياجعل instead of راجعک is given by the edition of Būlāq and one of the manuscripts.

2 These verses are to be found in the beginning of the twenty-third sūrah of the *Qur'ān*.

Ḥasan, the sons of Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah (*No. 533*) that they heard their father declare that he heard 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib say: *The Prophet ordered me to proclaim that mut'ah marriages were forbidden and unlawful, after he had authorised them*'. Al-Māmūn then turned towards us and said: 'Is it well ascertained that this Tradition came from al-Zuhrī?' We replied: 'It is, Commander of the faithful! a number of Traditionists have related it, such as Mālik (*No. 544*), to whom God be gracious!' On hearing this, he exclaimed: 'God forgive me! proclaim that *mut'ah* marriages are forbidden!' and a proclamation to that effect was immediately made." The *qāḍī* Abū Isḥāq Ismā'īl Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Hammād Ibn Zayd Ibn Dirham al-Azdī[1], who was a doctor of Mālikite jurisprudence and an inhabitant of Baṣrah, said, in speaking of Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham and extolling his merit: "He one day did to Islāmism a service the like of which no man ever rendered to it before". Yaḥyā's works on jurisprudence are excellent, but so voluminous that they are neglected by readers. He composed some treatises on the fundamentals of jurisprudence and published a work against the people of 'Irāq (*the Ḥanafites*) to which he gave the title of *al-Tanbīh* (*the warning*). He had frequent discussions with Dāwūd Ibn 'Alī (*No. 210*). When he was a *qāḍī*, a man went up to him, and the following dialogue ensued: "May God preserve you! how much should I eat"? Yaḥyā replied: "Enough to get over hunger and not enough to attain satiety". "How long may I laugh?" "Till your face brightens, but without raising your voice." "How long should I weep?" "Weeping should never fatigue you, if it be through fear of God". "What actions of mine should I conceal?" "As many as you can". "What are the actions which I should do openly?" "Those which may serve as examples to good and virtuous men whilst they secure you from public reprobation." On this, the man exclaimed: "May God preserve us from words which abide when deeds have passed away[2]"! Yaḥyā was the most acute of men and the most

---

1 Isma'īl Ibn Isḥāq was appointed *qāḍī* of Baghdād, A.H. 262 (A.C. 875-6). —(*Nujūm.*)

2 The reading followed here is قول قاطن و عمل ظاعن, which phrase signifies: "Word abiding and deed transitory."

skilful in the management of affairs. I read in a miscellany that Aḥmad Ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal (*No. 4, note*), al-Māmūn's wazīr, was standing, one day, in the presence of his sovereign when Yaḥyā came forth from a closet to which he had retired and stood (*also in the khalif's presence*). "Come up", said al-Māmūn. He went up and sat with him on the sofa, but at the farthest end of it. Aḥmad then said: "Commander of the faithful! the *qāḍī* Yaḥyā is for me a friend to whom I confide all that concerns me, but he is changed from what he used to be for me." On this, al-Māmūn said: "O Yaḥyā! the ruin of a sovereign's prosperity is caused by the misintelligence which arises between his ministers. No one can equal you or Aḥmad in my esteem; what then is the motive of this mutual distrust?" Yaḥyā replied: "Commander of the faithful! I declare, by Allāh! that my feelings towards Aḥmad are even more friendly than what he said; but he, seeing the rank which I hold in your favour, fears that, one day or other, I may turn against him and disserve him in your mind. I prefer telling this to you openly, so that he may be relieved from his apprehensions, and I declare that even if he injured me to the very utmost, I should never speak ill of him in your presence." "Is that the fact?" said the khalif to Aḥmad. He replied: "It is so". Al-Māmūn then exclaimed: "God protect me from you both! I never met with men more shrewed and more intelligent than you. No vice could be reproached to Yaḥyā except a certain inclination which was attributed to him and of which he had the reputation[1]; but God best knows how he may have been in that respect. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) states, in his History of Baghdād, that Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*) being informed, of the imputations cast on Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham's character, exclaimed: 'Good God! who can say such a thing?" and denied the fact in the most positive manner. It is related, moreover, that the jealousy borne to Aḥmad was excessive. He was acquainted with a great number of sciences and, when he had a conversation with any one and found him skilled in jurisprudence, he questioned him on points relative to the Traditions and, if he discovered that he knew Traditions by heart, he would propose to him some gramma-

1 This innuendo is more than sufficiently explained, a little farther on.

tical difficulty; then, if he found that he was acquainted with grammar, he would question him on scholastic theology; and all that for the purpose of confounding the man and bringing him to a stand. A very intelligent native of Khurāsān, who knew by heart many Traditions, went to see him one day and was drawn by him into a discussion. When Yaḥyā discovered that he was versed in a variety of sciences, he asked him if he knew any Tradition which had served as a fundamental principle of Jurisprudence. The other replied: "I learned from Sharīk (*No. 270*) that Abū Isḥāq (*No. 477*) told him that al-Ḥārith[1] related to him that 'Alī caused a pederast to be lapidated." Yaḥyā, on hearing this, stopped short and addressed not another word to the man. The Khaṭīb then relates that Yaḥyā received a visit from the two sons of Mas'adah[2], who were extremely handsome. When he saw them walking across the court of his house, he recited extempore these lines:

"O you who have left your tents to visit me! may God grant you both long life with His blessing! Why have you come to me when I am unable to do either the lawful deed or the deed forbidden. It saddens me to see you stand before me and to have nothing to offer you except fair words".

He then made them sit down before him and kept them in amusing chat till they went away. It is said that he was dismissed from the qāḍīship on account of these verses[3]. I read in a miscellany that Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham was jesting, one day, with al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb, the same person of whom we have spoken in the life of his brother Sulaymān (*No. 259*) and who was then a boy. In playing with him, he tapped him on the cheek and, perceiving that he was displeased, he recited these lines:

"O full moon, whose cheek I tapped and who, highly offended, turned away from me in anger! If a scratch displeased you

---

1 Al-Ḥārith Ibn Qays was one of the *Tābi'īs*, or disciples of Muḥammad's Companions.

2 One of these brothers was perhaps the 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah whose life is given in this work (*No. 482*).

3 These verses have most certainly a double meaning; the expressions employed in them being very equivocal.

or a bite, wear always, my master, a veil (*to conceal your face*). Let not those locks appear as a temptation, nor let their ringlets cover your cheeks, lest you slay, the wretched, or tempt the anchorites, or leave the *qāḍī* of the Muslims in torment."

Aḥmad Ibn Yūnus al-Ḍabbī relates as follows: "The *kātib* Ibn Zaydūn, who was an extremely handsome youth, was writing under the dictation of the *Qaḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Ak<u>th</u>am when the latter pinched his cheek. He felt much confused, blushed and threw away the pen. 'Take up your pen,' said Yaḥyā, 'and write down what I am going to say to you.' He then dictated to him"—the above mentioned verses. The following anecdote was related by Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Ṣaffār[1]: "I heard Abu'l-'Aynā say, at one of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad's (*No. 610*) sittings, (*or conferences*): I was[2] at one 'Abū 'Āṣim' al-Nabīl's sitting, and Abū Bakr, the son of Yaḥyā Ibn Ak<u>th</u>am, began to pull about a young slave who was there. The boy cried out; Abū 'Āṣim asked who was that man? and, being informed that it was Abū Bakr the son of Yaḥyā Ibn Ak<u>th</u>am he said: *If he be guilty of theft, his father hath been also guilty of theft heretofore*[3]." This anecdote is given by the <u>kh</u>aṭīb, in his History of Ba<u>gh</u>dād. The same author relates, in that work, that al-Māmūn asked Yaḥyā who was the author of this verse:

"A *qāḍī* who considers fornication as meriting corporal chastisement, and thinks a worse crime no harm."

Yaḥyā replied: "Does the Commander of the faithful not know by whom it is?" "I do not", said the <u>kh</u>alif. "Well", said Yaḥyā, "it was uttered by that profligate, Aḥmad Ibn Abī Nu'aym," the same who said:

---

1 Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, the same Traditionist of whom mention is made in the life of Abū Sulaymān al-<u>Kh</u>aṭṭābi (*No. 148*), died A.H. 341 (A.C. 952)—(*Nujūm*).

2 Abū 'Aṣim al-Ḍa ḥāk al-<u>Sh</u>aybānī, surnamed al-Nabīl (*the genius*), was a Traditionist of the best authority and a native of Baṣrah. He died A.H. 212 (A.C. 827-8), or 213, at the age of ninety-one years.—*Nujūm, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*)

3 This is an application of the seventy-seventh verse of the twelfth sūrah of the *Qur'ān*, which refers to Joseph and Benjāmin. Abū 'Āṣim substituted in it the words *his father* in place of *one of his brothers*. For the theft commited by Joseph, see Sale's note on this verse.

'I think that tyranny will never cease as long as the nation is governed by an 'Abbāsid.' "

The narrator says that al-Māmūn was confounded, and that, after a moment's silence, he gave orders to have Aḥmad Ibn Abī Nu'aym banished to Sind. These two verses belong to a piece which I shall give here :

"Fortune, which reduced me to silence, now permits me to speak of the afflictions which have kept me so long astounded. Cursed be Fortune for exalting some men and depressing others ! May that nation never prosper,—that nation which deserves to suffer lengthened adversity and lasting perdition ! If it consent to undergo the administration of Yaḥyā, of a man who is incapable of ruling it ; a *qāḍī* who considers fornication as meriting corporal chastisement and thinks a worse crime no harm. He would judge in favour of his smooth-faced fondling and give sentence against Jarīr and 'Abbās[1]. God protect us ! justice hath disappeared and little honesty is to be found with mankind. Our amīr takes bribes : our judge acts like the people of Lot, and our head (*the khalif*) is the worst of rulers. Did religion prosper and flourish, every just measure would be taken for (*the welfare of*) the people ; but I am sure that tyranny will never cease, as long as the nation is governed by an 'Abbāsid."

I am inclined to think that this piece contained more verses than what are inserted here, but these are all which the khaṭīb gives. The *Amālī* (or *dictations*) drawn up by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (*No. 616*) contains an anecdote which I shall now insert: "The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Akt̲h̲am said to a person whom he admitted into his familiarity and with whom he was accustomed to jest : 'Tell me what you heard the people say of me'. The other replied : 'They say nothing of you but what is good. 'Nay', said the *qāḍī*, 'I do not make you this question for the purpose of obtaining from you a certificate of morality.'

1 This verse seems to mean that the *qāḍī* would prefer the society of a vile minion to that of poets such as Jarīr (*No. 127*) and al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (*No. 297*). The whole piece is very obscure, as it contains expressions and allusions which can only be explained by conjecture.

The man then answered: 'I never heard them accuse the *qāḍī* of any thing except an irregular inclination.' Yaḥyā laughed and said: 'I ask God's pardon for all the sins of which I am accused except that which you have mentioned[1], *(for I never committed)* it.'" Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (*No. 415*) relates, in his *kitāb al-Aghānī*, a number of similar anecdotes concerning Yaḥyā. He says also: "Al-Māmūn, having frequently heard imputations of this nature cast upon Yaḥyā, resolved on putting him to the test and invited him to a private interview. He then said to a young mamlūk (*white slave*) who was a Khazarian by nation and remarkably handsome: 'You alone shall attend us, and, when I go out, do not leave the room.' When they met in the sitting-room and had conversed together for some time al-Māmūn retired as if on some necessary occasion and, having left the slave with Yaḥyā, he concealed himself in a place whence he could see what would happen. The slave, whom he had told to jest and make sport with Yaḥyā, did what he was ordered, and the khalif well knew that Yaḥyā would not dare to take liberties with the boy. Having then heard Yaḥyā say: '*Were it not for you* (who seduced us) *we should have been true believers*!"[2] he came into the room and recited these verses:

"We hoped to see justice made manifest, but that hope was followed by disappointment. How can the world and its inhabitants prosper, if the chief *qāḍī* of the Muslims acts like the people of Lot?"

The *kātib* Abū Ḥakīmah Rāshid Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Rāshid, who was the author of these verses, composed a great number of pieces on Yaḥyā. In the article on al-Māmūn which al-Mas'ūdī has given in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, will be found some anecdotes concerning Yaḥyā; we abstain from inserting them here because they are of the same kind as those just mentioned. A story is told of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abi Sufyān which greatly resembles the one we have just related of al-Māmūn's asking who was the author of a certain verse and of Yaḥyā's replying by another verse taken from the same poem. When Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān the Umayyad

---

1 The true reading is: المشهور عنا غير.

2 *Qur'ān*, Sūrah 34, verse 30.

was laid up with the malady of which he died, he suffered so greatly that his life was despaired of, and one of 'Alī Ibn Abī Talib's sons, whose name I do not recollect, went to make him a visit. Mu'āwiyah rallied all his strength and sat up in his bed, in order to receive him and not give him the gratification of seeing how ill he was. Being too weak to hold himself up, he at length leaned back upon a pile of cushions and recited this verse :

"I rally all my strength, so that those who are ready to rejoice at my sufferings may see that I am a man whom misfortune cannot overcome."

The son of 'Alī immediately rose from his seat and went out, reciting this line :

"When death grasps you in its clutches, you will find all your amulets of no avail."

The persons present admired greatly this repartee. The verses here mentioned are taken from a long *Qaṣīdah* which was composed by Abū Dhuwayb Khuwaylid Ibn Khālid al-Hudhali (*the Hudhalite*)[1] on the death of his sons, five of whom were carried off, in one and the same year, by the plague. They had fled from their native place with their father and were going to Egypt. Abu Dhuwayb died on his way to that country, or, by another account, on his way to Ifrīqiyah (*North Africa*), whither he was accompanying 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr. I have since read, in the ninth chapter of Ibn al-Habbāriyah's *(No. 650) Falak al-Ma'ānī**, that al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, went to visit Mu'āwiyah during his illness, and that the latter said to his attendants : "Prop me up (*with cushions*)" and then recited the verse of Abū Dhuwayb's applying it to his own case. Al-Ḥasan†

1 Abū Dhuwayb Khuwaylid Ibn Khālid was a member of the tribe of Hudhayl. He went to Makkah, with the intention of seeing Muhammad, but, on arriving, he found him dead. In the Khilāfat of 'Umar, he accompanied an expedition sent against the Greeks and died in that campaign. According to another statement, he died on his way to Makkah, when 'Uthmān was Khalif. He was said to have been the best poet of the tribe of Hudhayl, which was also the most poetical of all the Arabian tribes—(Suyūṭī's *Shawāhid al-Mughnī.*)

* *Falak al-Maghānī* in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† Al-Ḥusayn in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

saluted (*on entering*) and then repeated the other verse. God knows if this be exact. Abū Bakr Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (*No. 578*) relates the same anecdote in his *Kitāb al-Zuharah* and attributes the reply to al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī. I must here observe that neither Ibn al-Habbāriyah nor al-Ẓāhirī mention that Mu'āwiyah was in his last illness when this happened, and such could not possibly have been the case, because al-Ḥasan died before Mu'āwiyah, neither could al-Ḥusayn have been present at Mu'āwiyah's death, for he was then in Ḥijāz and Mu'āwiyah breathed his last in Damascus. I since found, towards the beginning of the work entitled *Kitāb al-Ta'āzī* (*book of consolations*) and composed by Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) that this scene passed between al-Ḥusayn and Mu'āwiyah. It was probably from this work that Ibn al-Habbāriyah took his account of it. An anecdote of a similar kind is related of 'Aqīl, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib : Having abandoned his father*, he joined the party of Mu'āwiyah, who received him with great kindness and treated him with the highest honour ; but that was merely for the purpose of annoying 'Alī. After the murder of 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah remained sole possessor of the supreme authority, and, finding 'Aqīl's presence becoming irksome, he began to say in his presence things that might offend him and oblige him to go away. One day, at a levee where all the most eminent of the Syrian (*Arabs*) were assembled, Mu'āwiyah said to them : "Do you know who was the Abū Lahab of whom God (in his Qur'ān†) spoke in these terms : "*The hands of Abū Lahab shall perish ?*" The Syrians answered that they did not. "Well," said he, "Abū Lahab was the paternal uncle of that man," pointing to 'Aqīl. He had no sooner pronounced these words that 'Aqīl said : "Do you know who was Abū Lahab's wife, of whom God said : *And his wife also, the bearer of faggots, having on her neck a rope made of palm-tree fibres* ? " † They answered that they did not : "Well", said he, "she was the paternal aunt of that man", pointing to Mu'āwiyah. The fact was that Umm Jamīl, Mu'āwiyah's aunt

* The correct version should be : 'Aqīl, the son of Abī Ṭālib, having abandoned his brother. M. de Slane's rendering is an error.—Ed.

† *Qur'ān, sūrah* 111.

and the daughter of Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manāf, was the wife of Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzā and the person who is indicated in the sūrah of the *Qur'ān*. It was really a silencing answer. An anecdote similar to the foregoing is told of a certain king who laid seige to a city. He had with him an immense army of cavalry and infantry, with provisions in abundance. He sent a letter to the lord of the city, advising him to surrender the place or else he should be attacked. In this letter he spoke of his numerous troops and the great quantity of munitions which he had brought with him, and in it he inserted this passage of the *Qur'ān* : *Until they came to the valley of the ants ; and an ant said* : "*O ants ! enter into your dwellings lest Solomon and his forces treat you under foot and perceive it not*[1]." The lord of the city, having received this epistle, pondered over it for some time and then read it to his officers. "Who", said he, "can return to that a proper answer ? " One of the secretaries replied : "Let these words be written to him : *And he smiled, laughing at its words.*[2] " This answer was approved of by all present. An anecdote of a similar kind is thus related by Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (*No. 157*), in his *Anmūdhaj* : 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muthānnā al-Ṭūsī, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Muwaddib, belonged to a family of al-Mahdiyah[3] and was a native of Qayrawān. He had some reputation as a poet but led a wandering life, being always in search of minerals and the philosopher's stone. His manner of living was very miserable and parsimonious, as he spent (*in chemical operations*) whatever he was able to gain. Having left this country with the intention of going to Sicily, he was taken prisoner, at sea, by the Christians (*Rūm*) and remained a long time in captivity. Thiqat al-Dawlah Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Quḍā'ī, the prince of Sicily, having concluded a truce with the Christians, obtained that all the captives should be sent to him. Ibn al-Muwaddib, who was one of the number, recited to Thiqat al-Dawlah a poem in which he extolled his merit and thanked him for what he had done. Not receiving, in return, a

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 27, verse 18.

2 This is the continuation of the foregoing verse.

3 Al-Mahdiyah is a seaport town in the province of Tūnis.

gift adequate to his expectation and being inordinately desirous (*of obtaining money*) he spoke (*to that amīr on the subject*) and was most importunate (*in his demands*)[1]. At that time, he was living concealed in the house of an al-chemist with whom he was acquainted, and remained there a long while. Having then gone out (*one night*) in a state of intoxication, with the intention of purchasing sugar-plums (*to eat with his wine*), he was arrested before he was aware and carried before the chief of the *shurṭāh* (*police guards*), by whom he was conducted to governor. "You good-for-nothing fellow ! " said the latter, "what is this I hear of you ? " The poet replied : "A pack of lies ! may God protect our lord the amīr ? " The prince then asked him who it was that said in one of his poems :

"The man nobly born is always plagued by scoundrels[2]."

The poet replied : "It was the same person who said :

'The enmity of poets is the worst of acquisitions.' "

The prince remained silent for some time and then ordered him a sum of one hundred *rubā'īs** [3] ; but, fearing that he might again be irritated against him and punish after pardoning, he expelled him from the city. The lines cited here are the second hemistichs of two verses belonging to that *qaṣīdah* of al-Mutanabbi's (*No. 49*) which rhymes in *na* and which he composed in praise of Badr Ibn 'Ammār. It begins thus :

"Love takes away from the tongue the faculty of speech, and the complaints which give most solace to a lover are those which he utters aloud."

It is well-known poem. The verse to which the first hemistich belongs is as follows :

"Impose silence on that adviser who, in accusing me, leads you into error. The man nobly born is always plagued by scoundrels."

---

1 This passage may also signify ; He discoursed (*on alchimy*) and searched with great ardour (*the philosopher's stone*).

2 Literally : by sons of fornication.

3 I can discover nothing precise respecting the value of the coin called *rubā'i*, which word, in Arabic means *A quadruple*.

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : Dīnārs.—Ed.

The second verse is this :

"The complots of fools turn against themselves, and the enmity of poets is the worst of acquisitions."

Having mentioned the name of Thiqat al-Dawlah, we shall give here a poem composed in his praise by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn *Qāḍī* Mīlah (*the son of the Qaḍī of Mīlah*). The poet recited it to him on the festival of the Sacrifice. This *qaṣīdah,* which is so remarkable for its originality, was not to be found complete, but I at length discovered a copy of it written on the cover of a book. Till then, I knew only a part of it and never heard of any person's knowing more. As it is so fine a poem and so rare, I have decided on giving it here :

"Love and my afflicted heart cause my tears to flow, whilst my eyes gather (*a harvest of)* that passionate desire which is imposed (*on every lover*). True it is that I am called towards that object which I wished to avoid and from whose abode I had departed; it is a soft-voice gazelle (*maiden*) adorned with ear-rings who invites me. Hers are the large, dark eyes, the languishing glances, (*the waist so slender that it leaves*) the girdle empty, and the bracelet holding firmly (*to the arm*). The brackish water flowing from her country is (for me) sweet-tasted, and its cold winds shed genial mildness. What makes me despair of our meeting are the dangerous grounds which intervene and in which (*even*) the nocturnal breeze (*loses its force and*) dies. The jealous spy abstains from sleep lest he should see, in a dream, (*my*) union effected (*with her whom I love*). He passes the day regretting that, though our dwelling-place was near (*to him*), his inattention prevented him from seeing what had passed. The atmosphere gives us to expect a thunder-cloud, pouring down its showers and whose lightnings, like yellow serpents, glance around. When it appeared and the thunder howled, and the eyelids of the black cloud shed their waters, I was like a man stung by a scorpion ; the thunder was the incantation of the serpent charmer, and the mizzling rain was the saliva which he blew from his mouth ; so great were the sufferings I endured. By that was recalled to my mind the recollection of (*my beloved)*

Rayyā and of what I had forgotten ; I now remember (*all*), but that redoubles my affliction. When we met in the sacred territory (*of Makkah*), Rayyā rejoiced our hearts by the cry of *labbayka* (*here I am at your call*) ; our camels then roamed freely; I looked at her, whilst the humps of the camels were dropping blood[1] and she said (*to her female companions*) 'Does any one of you know that young man ? his gazing at me so long makes me uneasy. When we are in march, he walks on a line with us, and when the camels' feet cease to move, he also stops.' I then said to her two companions : 'Tell her that I am smitten with love for her' and they replied : 'We shall manage (*to do so*) cautiously.' Say also to her : 'O Umm 'Amr ! is not this (*valley of*) Minā ? wishes made in the vale of Minā are never disappointed (*tukhlafu*). It was for me an omen (*tafāltu*) of your fulfilling your latest promise, when you let me see, as if by accident, the tips of your fingers dyed with *ḥinnā*. In 'Arafāt, I find what informs (*me*) of a favour I shall obtain ; that of your hearts inclining towards me. The (*traces left by the*) blood of the victims will always serve to guide us, even when my reason is absorbed in converse with love. The kissing of the sacred stone will announce to me the approach of good fortune and of a time favourable to our love.' They bore (*her*) my message and she said, in similing: 'The words of augury are deceptive. On my life ! did I not tell you both that he arrays his discourse in the embroidered robe of eloquence ? Trust as little as you can to his insidious words and say (*to him*) : 'Thou shalt know, to-day, which of us is the better augur. You hoped, in (*the valley of*) Minā, to obtain your wish, and, when in that vale, you injured my reputation. Our pilgrim's sacred garment has announced that we are forbidden to meet and that I shall refuse to grant what you desire. There (*is my answer*). And, when I cast the pebbles, that should have informed you of my removal, by a distant journey, from the dwellings where you reside. Take care lest I disdain you, on the night of the departure ; it will be quickly done, but the persons skilled in augury are few.' Never did I see two such

---

1 Literally : were like noses dropping blood. The camels intended to be sacrificed were marked with an arrow stuck into the hump.

devoted lovers as we are ; but tongues are sharp and have a double edge. Were it not for a sweet-voiced and slender-waisted maiden, for the brilliant whiteness of her teeth, for her large, dark eyes and her long eyelashes, the passionate lover would recover (*his senses*), he that could not close his eyes would enjoy sleep, he that despaired would hope, and he that was sick would cease (*to suffer*). Censorious females sometimes reproach me for lavishing my wealth on those who awaited my gifts in silent expectation, and not on my companions who asked (*them*) with importunity. They said : 'When you have spent all your money and are in want, who will give you more,' And my answer was: 'Yūsuf! that illustrious descendant of Quḍā'ah, whose generosity hastens to grant in abundance that which calls forth gratitude.' Whenever a cloud of (*beneficence*) which promised abundant showers, frustrated our hopes, we found that the rains of his bounty never disappointed us. When he and other princes toil to acquire glory, he succeeds easily, but they must labour hard and only obtain the gleanings. Always vigilant, he combines mildness with energy ; his hands procure him what he wants and protect him against what he fears. He is a sword drawn to strike the enemies of the faith, and a protecting curtain lowered down over those who fear God. When in march, two armies accompany him : his prudence and his troops ; he has for companions two swords : firm resolution and the sharp-edged steel. Always ready to chastise those who offend him, he regulates the actions of fate by his decisions. His foresight discovers that which no other can perceive, and arranges matters which could not be settled by the spear. May God protect him who guards, by his vigilance, religion's sacred ground and who protects the hills of Islāmism even in the darkest night ! (*God protect*) him who gives full career to his promises in the arena of glory and who regulates his threats conformably to the obligations of justice ! him who cuts his enemies to pieces whilst their chiefs take to flight before the swords which fall upon their heads ! He directed against them an army which levelled the earth by the very sound of its march ; and the hills were unable to sustain the weight of all the arrows which oppressed them. His lances, in the brightness of the morning, were like serpents gliding through the thick vapours of

the mirage; the brightness of his swords lighted up the darkness, and clouds of dust obscured the day. The light of the sun was hidden by the dust, but the action of his swords in striking foemen's necks was not interrupted. Every year you send against them an army, charged to claim from them (*what you exact*), and it obtains satisfaction at the point of the spear. When they concealed the wound which one year had inflicted and were recovered from their sufferings, you began again to open that wound (تقرف). How many (*chiefs*) with faces covered by the twisted braids of their hair, whom you left (*on the field of battle*), with their necks no longer covered (*akshafa*) by the beard of the chin (لحية). (*Each of them*) was a sword which cut deeply into the object on which it fell; yet they fled, and you may now see shortened those (*bodies*) which were so long. By my life! you transgressed against God by imploring His favour (*for you possessed it already*), and you rendered services of which God (*alone*) knows the number. You pursued them for the sake of your people, till they were scattered far and wide; you invited them to the faith until they became orthodox believers (*taḥannafū*)). O Thiqat al-Mulk! you whose empire is an arrow fledged and pointed for piercing the hearts of the enemy! may you enjoy this festival of which you are the ornament and which borrows from your brilliant qualities its noblest epithets. The (*victim with*) its sides marked, appeared in brilliant array, as if its back was covered with the variegated gauze of 'Irāq. After a year's absence, it (*this festival*) comes to visit you, because it longed to see you and looked anxiously forward to this day of meeting. You gave to it your glory to serve it for a collar and for ear-rings; and it thus appears before us decked in rings and jewels. The presence of your son Ja'far renders this day doubly fortunate; how admirable the festival which enjoys the presence of two kings! May you never cease to be asked for favours and to grant them, to inspire hopes and to fulfil them, to be called on when misfortunes are impending and to avert them[1]."

---

1 We do not possess another text of this very obscure poem; so that in many passages, I have been obliged to correct and translate by conjecture. It has been published with a great number of various readings, by Mr. Amari, in his *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 634 *et seq.*

Here ends the *qaṣīdah*, Thiqāt al-Dawlah had a son named Tāj al-Dawlah Ja'far, who was versed in literature and had a talent for poetry. A well known piece of verse was composed by him on two pages, one of which was dressed in red silk and the other in black. Here it is:

"I see two rising moons (*faces*) each borne on a branch (*a slender body*) and in just proportion; they are arrayed in robes one of which is tinted like the cheek and the other like the pupil of the eye. Here, behold the sun in the red sky of evening, and there, the moon in the shades of night fall."

These verses were composed by him in the year 527[1]. On the tenth of Muḥarram, 215 (9th March, A.C. 830), al-Māmūn arrived in Miṣr (*Old Cairo*) and set out again, towards the end of the month of Ṣafar (April). The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham, whom he had taken with him and appointed to the *qāḍīship* of Miṣr, held that place during three days and then departed with his sovereign. It was for this reason that Ibn Zūlāq (*No. 159*) has inserted his name in the Ḥistory of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt. It has been handed down that Yaḥyā related the following extraordinary fact: "When I was in al-Ruṣāfah (*No. 19, note*)," said he, "a man, who was a grandfather in the fifth degree, claimed, at my tribunal, the inheritance of the grandson of his great grandson[2]." 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Abī 'Amr al-Mu'adhdhal Ibn Ghaylān Ibn al-Muḥārib Ibn al-Buḥturī al-'Abdī (*No. 143, note*) the celebrated poet, went frequently to visit the *qāḍī* Yaḥyā and used to drop in at his levees. One day, having found great difficulty in approaching him and undergone some humiliation; he ceased his visits. Being then pressed by his wife to renew them, he answered her in these terms:

"She would oblige me to disgrace myself, thinking my dishonour a trifle in comparison with her advantage. 'Ask favours,'

1 This date is false. The Amīr Tāj al-Dawlah succeeded to his father Thiqat al-Dawlah, A. H. 388 (A.C. 998), and abdicated on 410 (A.C. 1019-20). It is not probable that he could have composed this madrigal event in the year 427.

2 By the Muslim law, the nearest surviving male ascendant has a right to a certain share in the property left by his descendant.

said she, 'from Yaḥyā Ibn Akt͟ham'; and I replied: 'Ask them from the Lord of Yaḥyā Ibn Akt͟ham.' "

This *qāḍī* continued to pass through many vicissitudes of fortune till the reign of al-Mutawakkil 'ala-Allāh. When the *qāḍī* Muḥammad, the son of the *qādī* Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād (*No. 31*) was dismissed from office, Yaḥyā was appointed to succeed him on that occasion, the k͟halif invested him with five robes of honour. In the year 240 (A.C. 854), al-Mutawakkil deposed him, seized on his riches and nominated, in his place, a member of the 'Abbāsid family named Ja'far Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās al-Hās͟himī. Ja'far's secretary then went to Yaḥyā and said: "Surrender up to me the administration with which you are charged". Yaḥyā replied: "Not till two creditable witnesses shall declare that the Commander of the faithful sent me orders to do so". The administration was taken from him by force, and al-Mutawakkil, who was greatly incensed against him, seized on all his estates and ordered him to remain a prisoner in his own house. Some time after, he (*Yaḥyā*) set out to make the pilgrimage and took his sister with him, as he intended making a residence in the holy city. Having then learned that al-Mutawakkil had forgiven him, he renounced the project of settling (*at Makkah*) and departed for 'Irāq but, on reaching al-Rabad͟hah he breathed his last. This took place on Friday, the 15th of D͟hu 'l-Ḥijjah, 242 (14 April, A.C. 857), or, according to another statement, on the first day of the following year (30th April, A.C. 857). He was interred at that place, having then attained the age of eighty-three years. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'īd related as follows: The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Akt͟ham was, for me, a sincere friend; he loved me and I loved him. When he died, I wished that I might see him in a dream, so that I might ask him how God had treated him. And, one night, I had a dream in which I saw him and asked him that question. He replied: 'God has forgiven me, but He reprimanded me and said: 'O Yaḥyā! thy mind was allayed (*and turned*) from me during thy dwelling in the world.' I answered: 'Lord! I place my reliance on a Tradition which was related to me by Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr (*No. 84, note*), who had learned it from al-A'mas͟h (*No. 253*), who had heard it from Abū

Ṣāliḥ[1] who had heard Abū Hurayrah (*No. 244, note*) say that the Prophet of God pronounced these words : 'God said : I should be ashamed to punish in the fire a grey-headed man.' On this, God said to me ; 'Yaḥyā ! I pardon thee ; My Prophet said the truth, but yet thy mind was turned from Me during thy abode in the world.' " This relation is given by Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī in his *Risālah*[2]. "*Aktham* means *a corpulent man* or *sated with food.* This name is sometimes written *Aktam*, but, in both cases, the signification is the same." So says the author of the *Muḥkam* (*No. 424*). *Qaṭan* and *Sam'ān* take the vowels here indicated. I consulted a great number of books and of persons versed in this art (*etymology*) respecting the word *Mushannaj*, but could obtain no certain information about it. I then met with a correct copy of the Khaṭīb's History of Baghdād, which had been written out under the dictation of a master who knew the work by heart, and I read there that *Mushannaj* should be written as here indicated. I since found the same pronunciation given in 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mu'talif* (*No. 376*). *Usayyidī* means *belonging to the tribe of Usayyid*, a branch of that of Tamīm. Usayyid, the son of 'Amr, the son of Tamīm, was the progenitor of this family. We have already spoken of the relative adjectives *Tamīmī* and *Marwāzī* (*No. 3*). The village of *al-Rabadhah* is a dependancy of Madīnah. It lies on the great pilgrim road and is a regular halting-place for their caravans. It was on this place that Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī was banished by 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān[3]. He remained there till his death ; his tomb is still to be seen and is often visited (*by pious pilgrims*). *Mīlah* is a small town in one of the districts of Ifrīqiyah, but God knows best[4]. The *qāḍī* Ja'far Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid bore the surname of Abū 'Abd Allāh and died in the year 258 (A.C. 871-2), or by another account, in 268 or 269.

1 Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān, named also Dhakwān and surnamed al-Zayyāt, was a *mawlā* of the tribe of Ghaṭafān and an eminent Traditionist. He died at Madīnah, A.H. 101 (A. C. 719-20). (*Nujūm*, *Ḥuffāẓ*).

2 See *No. 369* and, for an account of the *Risālah*, my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, 1st part, p. 456.

3 Abū Dharr Jundab Ibn al-Sakan al-Ghifārī, one of the earliest converts to Islāmism, died at al-Rabadhah A.H. 32 (A.C. 652-3). (*Nujūm*, *Ma'ārif.*)

4 The town of Mīlah lies 18 or 20 miles N.W. of Constantina.

767 YAḤYĀ IBN MU'ĀDH

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'adh al-Rāzī (*a native of Ray and*) a celebrated preacher, was one of the *men of the path* (*No. 111*) Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (*No. 369*) mentions him in his (*celebrated treatise, the*) *Risālah* and includes him in the number of the Shaykhs (*the most eminent Ṣūfī doctors*). "He was", says he, "the only man, in his day, who had no model but himself; he was most eloquent on the subject of hope (*in God's mercy*); particularly when he discoursed on the knowing (*of God*). "He went to Balkh where he resided for some time and then returned to Naysābūr, where he died. One of Yaḥyā's sayings was: "How can he be abstemious (*from wordly enjoyments*) who is without the fear of God? respect that which is not thine and use with great moderation that which is thine." He used sometimes to say: Hunger is a spiritual exercise for those who aspire (*to the knowledge of God*), a trial for those who are turning (*unto God*), a regular practice for those who abstain (*from the enjoyments of this world*) and a favour granted to those who have acquired the knowledge (*of God's perfection*). Solitude is the fit companion for the sincerely devout; missing the opportunity (*of obtaining salvation*) is worse than death; for missing (*such a thing*) is the being cut away from the truth, whereas death is only the being cut away from living. Abstinence consists in three things: poverty, solitude and hunger. If a man thinks to deceive God by trying to cast a veil over his sins, God will tear off that veil and expose them to the public". "He learned Traditions from Isḥāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī[1], Makkī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī[2]

---

1 According to the author of the *Ṭabaqāt āl-Ḥuffāẓ*, Abū Yaḥyā Isḥāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī was a sure and exact Traditionist, and a native of Kūfah. He settled at Ray and taught Traditions on the authority of Mālik and others. His piety and the holiness of his life led the people to consider him as one of those mysterious personages who were designated by the title of *abdāls* and of whom Mr. Lane has given a very good account in his translation of *the thousand and one nights*, chap. III, note 62. This ascetic died A. H. 200 (A.C. 815-6), or 199, according to the compiler of the *Nujūm*.

2 Makkī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (*a nātive of Balkh*) taught Traditions on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik and others. He died A.H. 214 (A.C. 829-30), or 215.—(*Ḥuffāz*).

and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfisī[1]. A number of strangers belonging to Ray, Hamadhān and Khurāsān taught, on his authority, a few well supported Traditions. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) says of him, in the History of Baghdād: "When he came to Baghdād the *Shaykhs* of the Ṣūfis and the devotees gathered round him and, having set up a throne, they placed him on it, sat down before him and entered into a conference. Al-Junayd *(No. 140)* then uttered some words, on which Yaḥyā said: "Be silent, my lamb! what have you to do with speaking when all the people are talking"? The allusions and expressions which he employed were remarkably elegant. One of his sayings was: "A pious discourse is a fine thing, but its meaning is finer; its use is finer than its meaning; the recompense which it merits is finer than its use and, finer than its recompense is the favour of Him for Whose sake that discourse was made". He said also: "True friendship cannot be augmented by kindness nor diminished by unkindness". Another of his sayings was: "He whose aspect is not as silver for the vulgar, as gold for the aspirants (*to the knowledge of God*), as pearls and rubies for those who know God and are advanced in His favour, that man is not one of God's sages who aspire to know Him". He said also; "The finest thing in the world is a correct discourse uttered by an eloquent tongue and proceeding from a handsome face; a shrewd discourse, drawn from a profound ocean (*the heart*) by the tongue of an ingenious man". He said also: "My God! how can I forget Thee, I who have no other lord but Thee? My God never shall I utter the words: *Never again shall I return* (*to sin*), for I feel that my heart is liable to break its promises; yet shall I utter them, provided that I die before I relapse". One of his prayers was as follows: Almighty God! though my sins cause me to fear, my hopes in Thy mercy assure me against danger. Almighty God! Thy kindness has concealed my sins from this world, but it is for me more necessary that they should be concealed from view on the day of the resurrection. Thou hast been bountiful towards me in preventing them from appearing before the company of true believers; do not, therefore bring me to shame on that day, in the

1 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfisī, a traditionist whose authority was cited by Ibn Mājah and other eminent doctors, died A.H. 230 (A.C. 844-5).—(*Ḥuffāẓ, Nujūm*).

presence of all Thy creatures, O Thou most merciful of the merciful!" A descendant of 'Alī, who resided at Balkh and to whom he went to pay his respects, said to him: "Tell me, Master! and may God assist you! what is your opinion of us who are the people of the house (*the members of Muḥammad's family*")! Yaḥyā replied: "It is that which I would say of clay kneaded with the water of (*divine*) revelation and sprinkled (?) with the water of the (*heavenly*) mission: can it give out any other odour than the musk of true direction and the ambergris of piety"? The 'Alide (*was so highly pleased with this answer that he*) filled Yaḥyā's mouth with pearls. The next morning, Yaḥyā received a visit from the 'Alide and said to him: "Your coming to see us is an effect of your goodness, and our going to see you was on account of your goodness; so you, in visiting and being visited, are doubly good". Another of Yaḥyā's sayings was: "To him who is going to see a true friend the way never appears long; he who goes to visit his beloved never feels lonely on the road". He said also: "How miserable are the sons of Ādam! if they feared hell as much as they fear poverty, they would all enter into paradise". "No man", said he, "obtained his utmost wish without longing for death as ardently as the hungry man longs for food. He sees causes of ruin approach, is uneasy about his family and his brethern and is just falling into a state which would trouble the soundest reason." He said again: "He who neglects the minor duties of piety will not obtain the greater gifts (*which God bestows*)". Another of his sayings was: "Of the things which fall into the lot of those among you who are truly believers, the best are three namely, that which, it profits them not, will not harm them; that which, if it rejoices them not, will not sadden them, and that which, if it does not gain them praise, will not bring upon them blame".* He said again: ("*A man's*) acts are like the mirage; (*his*) heart is devastated (*and deprived*) of piety; (*his*) sins are equal in number to the sands and the grains of

* de Slane's rendering is not intelligible. The passage is quite clear and should be rendered thus: "Of the things which fall into the lot of a believer from your (i.e. human) habits the best three are: if you do not benefit him, do not harm him either; if you do not please him do not sadden him either; and if you do not praise him do not blame him either."—Ed.

dust; yet he desires to possess the high bosomed maidens of his time. Woe be to you! you are drunk but not with wine. How perfect would you be had you striven against (ناقلت) your hopes! how great, had you hastened in fulfilling your appointed duty! how strong had you resisted your passions"! On such subjects he uttered many fine maxims. He died at Naysābūr in the year 258. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh said: "I read these words on the tomb-stone of Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'ādh al-Rāzī "The sage of the epoch, may God whiten his face and unite him with the blessed Prophet! died on Monday, the sixteenth of the first Jumādā, 258, (30th March A.C. 872), at Naysābūr.

668 YAḤYĀ IBN MANDAH

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-'Abdī was the son of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the son of the *imām* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of Isḥāq, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Mandah, the son of al-Walīd, the son of Mandah, the son of Baṭṭah, the son of Istandār, the son of Jihārbakht, the son of Fīruzān. *Mandah* is a surname; he who bore it was called Ibrāhīm. It is said that Istandār's real name was *al-Fīruzān*. God knows! Yaḥyā Ibn Mandah was a most distinguished *ḥāfiẓ* and one of the most eminent amongst the Traditionists. We have already spoken of his grandfather (*No. 594*). Yaḥyā was designated by the surname of Abū Zakariyā, his father by that of Abū 'Amr, his grandfather by that of Abū 'Abd Allāh, his great-grandfather by that of Abū Muḥammad and his great-great-grandfather by that of Abū Ya'qūb. He was a native of Iṣbahān and a Traditionist, as were his father, his grandfather, his great-grandfather and his great-great-grandfather before him. Highly distinguished for his merit, his talents and his vast knowledge in Traditional lore, he was also a trustworthy relator of Traditions, an accomplished *ḥāfiẓ* and one of those who were noted for the copiousness of their information and for their veracity. The works composed by him were numerous, his conduct exemplary and the duties he imposed on himself arduous. At that epoch, the family to which he belonged had not a member worthy of being compared to him. He published, for the first time, some collections of Traditions, part of which he drew from

his own stock and the rest from the lips of the numerous *Shaykhs* and teachers who resided at Iṣbahān. He heard Traditions deliverd by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd al-Ḍabbī, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Kātib, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Faḍlawayh al-Iṣbahānī, his own father and his two paternal uncles, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh and Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Raḥmān. His other teachers were Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Nu'mān *al-Qaṣṣās,** Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jaṣṣāṣ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥawrdānī† and Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī. Having gone to Naysābūr, he there heard Traditions taught by Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Manṣūr Ibn khalaf al-Muqrī and Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (*No. 27*). At Hamadhān he learned Traditions from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Nahāwandī; at Baṣrah he studied them under Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammād Ibn Aḥmad al-Shāhid, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sa'dānī and a great number of other professors. One of the works compiled by him was a (*biographical*) History of Iṣbahān. Having gone to Baghdād, on his way to the pilgrimage, he taught Traditions in that city and made dictations in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. So great was his reputation and so high the rank which he held (*as a Traditionist*), that a crowd of *Shaykhs* went to note down his observations, and amongst them were Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir, 'Abd al-Qadir Ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Jīlī, and the grammarian Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad‡ al-Khashshāb. Traditions were deliverd on his authority by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Barakāt, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn al-Mubārak al-Anmāṭī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Turāb al-Zankawī al-Khayyāṭ, both of them natives of Baghdād, Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ala, and a great number of others. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370) mentions him in

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Quḍāī.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Jawrdānī.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd inserts: Ibn between *Aḥmad* and *al-Khashshāb* vide No. 325.—Ed.

the *Kitāb al-Dhayl* and says: "He wrote out for me a licence to teach all the Traditions which he himself had learned." He then adds: "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad, whom I asked what he thought of him, extolled him highly and praised his good memory, his knowledge and his learning". Farther on he says; "I heard the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abī Naṣr Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad al-Laftawānī say: 'The family of Ibn Mandah began by a Yaḥyā and ended by a Yahyā, meaning in the knowledge of the Traditions, in science and in merit." 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, the *ḥāfiẓ* of whom we have already spoken (*No. 377*) mentions him in the *Siyāq* (*or continuation*) of the History of Naysābūr and says: "Abu Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Mandah was a man of great merit and came of a family noted throughout the world for learning and for the knoweldge of Traditions. He travelled (*to many cities*), met there the great doctors, and learned Traditions from their lips. He composed a work on the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (*that of Muslim and that of al-Bukhārī.*)" It is related on the best authority that one of the learned gave the following saying as Ibn Mandah's: "Excessive laughter is a mark of folly; folly and precipitation result from weakness of mind, weakness of mind, proceeds from want of judgment; want of judgment comes from a bad education, and a bad education draws down contempt. Headlessness is a sort of madness; envy is a malady for which there is no cure, and detraction engenders hatred." It has been handed down from al-Asma'ī (*No. 354*), through a series of creditable narrators, that the following anecdote was related by Ibn Mandah. "I was in the desert and went into a mosque. The *imām* stood up to direct the prayer and then recited the passage of the *Qur'ān* (*sūrah 71, verse 1*) in which God says: "*We sent Noah unto his people.* Here he got embarrased and continued to repeat the same words, on which a Bedwin Arab, who was standing behind him and accompanying the prayer, exclaimed: 'Well, man! If Noah has not gone there, send some one else.'" Yaḥyā Ibn Mandah used often to repeat these lines of a poet:

"I wondered how a man could purchase error at the price of true direction; but he who purchases worldy goods at the price of his religion is more to be wondered at. But still more wonderful

is the man who sacrifices his religion to obtain the worldly advantages possessed by another; he is yet a greater loser than the two former."

He was born at Iṣbahān on Tuesday morning, the 19th of Shawwāl, 434 (1st of June, A. C. 1043), and he died there on the feast of the Sacrifice, 512 (24th March, A. C. 1119). After his death, the Mandah family never produced a man like him. Ibn Nuqṭah *(No. 634)* says, in the *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, that his death took place on Saturday, the 12th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, 511 and that his father 'Abd al-Wahhāb was born in the year 386 (A.C. 996), and died in the month of the latter Jumādā, 475 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1082). We have marked the orthography of his ancestors' names in our article on his grandfather Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad[1].

869 IBN SA'DŪN AL QURṬUBĪ

Abū Bakr, Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'dūn Ibn Tammām Ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Qurṭubī (*a member of the Arabian tribe of Azd and a native of Cordova*), bore the title of Ṣā'in al-Dīn (*preserver of the faith* and was one of the *imāms* (*or great masters*), who, in latter times, were well versed in the *Qur'ānic* readings, the sciences connected with the *Qur'ānic* text, the Traditions, grammar. philology, etc. He left Cordova in the flower of his youth and proceeded to Egypt. In Alexandria, he heard the lessons of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhim al-Rāzī and, in Miṣr (*Old Cairo*), those of Abū Ṣādiq Murshid Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qāsim al-Madanī al-Miṣrī (*a native of Madīnah who had settled in Egypt*). There also he studied under Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahāni, generally known by the appellation of al-Ṣilafī (*No. 43*) and other masters. In the the year 517 (A.C. 1123-4), he arrived in Baghdād and read the *Qur'ān* under the direction of the *Shaykh* Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-Muqrī (*teacher of the Qur'ān-readings*), who was generally known by the designation of Ibn Bint al-Shaykh Abī Manṣūr al-Khayyāṭ (*the son of the daughter of the Shaykh Abū Manṣūr the tailor*). He heard from the lips of that professor the

1 The passage here indicated is not to be found in our manuscripts.

contents of a great number of books, one of which was Sībawayh's *Kitāb* (*No. 479*). He read Traditions under Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bazzār,* surnamed Qāḍi 'l-Māristān (*the qāḍī of the infirmary*), Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn (الحصين) Abu 'l-'Izz Ibn Kādis and other masters. He was religious and devout, remarkable for such gravity and dignity of bearing as inspired respect. As a Traditionist he was a sure authority, veracious and trustworthy ; his talents were great, his words few, his good actions numerous and his discourse instructive. He resided at Damascus for some time and then went to inhabit Moṣul, whence he removed to Iṣbahān. From that he returned to Moṣul and all the Shaykhs (*or eminent doctors*) of the time went to hear his lessons. Thr *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) mentions him in the *Dhayl* and says : "I met him in Damascus, where he gave lessons which (*even*) the *Shaykhs* under whom Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Rāẓī had studied, went to hear. I myself selected some choice passages out of his lectures. Having asked him the date and place of his birth, he replied that he was born in the year 486 (A.C. 1093-94) at Cordova, a city in Spain." I read in a book that his birth took place in the year 487, but the former date is the true one. Our Shaykh the *Qāḍī* Bahā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Rafī' Ibn Tamīm generally known by the surname of Ibn Shaddād and *qāḍī* of Aleppo, took pride in stating that he had learned Traditions and *Qur'ān* readings from Abū Bakr al-Qurṭubī. To this we shall recur in our article on Ibn Shaddād. "We used," said he, "to read (*the Qur'ān*) under him at Moṣul, and, every day, we saw a man come in, salute him without sitting down, hand him a packet the contents of which were unknown to us and then retire. We tried to discover what was in it, and at length found out that it was a fowl ready plucked which the *Shaykh* purchased, every day, from that man, for his own use and which, on returning to his house, he cooked with his own hands." The same *qāḍī* states, in his *Dalā'il al-Aḥkām*, that he read (*the Qur'ān*) under him during the space of eleven years and finished in the year 567 (A.C. 1171-2). The *Shaykh* Abū

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Bazzāz.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Kādish.—Ed.

Bakr al-Qurṭubī often repeated the following verses, tracing them, through a regular series of transmitters, up to the author, the *Kātib* Abu 'l-Qāhir al-Wāsiṭī:

"The pen of fate writes out what is to happen; so, whether we move or remain quiet, it is just the same. How foolish in thee to toil for sustenance! is not sustenance granted even to the embryo in the womb?"

He said also: "The following verses were repeated to us by Abu 'l-Wafā 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Wahb Ibn Ḥassān, who stated that they were recited to him in Old Cairo by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Manī' (منيع), who gave them as having been composed by himself:

"I have a device by which calumny may be averted, but no device can serve against a liar. No strategem of mine can avail against him who says things of his own invention."

The *Shaykh* Abū Bakr al-Qurṭubi died at Moṣul, on the day of the festival of the Sacrifice, 567 A. H. (4th August, A.C. 1172).

770 YAḤYĀ IBN YA'MAR.

Abū Sulaymān, or, as some say, Abū Sa'īd, Yaḥyā, the son of Ya'mar al-Adawī* al-Washqī, was a grammarian of Baṣrah, and a *Tā'bi'i* (*one of those who had received lessons from a Companion of Muḥammad*). He met (*and knew*) 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (*No. 243, note*), 'Abd 'Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās (*No. 43, note*), and others (*of the Companions*). Qatādah Ibn Di'āmah al-Sadūsī (*No. 516*) and Isḥāq Ibn Suwayd al-'Adawī handed down Traditions on his authority. He was one of the chief *Qur'ān*-readers[1] of Baṣrah, and it was from him that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Isḥāq learned the manner of reading (*that book*). He removed to Khurāsān and was

1 See *No. 18, note.*

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-'Adawānī which is supported by the explanation of the author at the end of the article.—Ed.

appointed *Qāḍī* at Marw. The text of the *Qur'ān*, the rules of grammar and the various dialects of the Arabs were equally familiar to him. He acquired his knowledge of grammar from Abu 'l-Aswād al-Duwālī (*No. 285*). It is related that, when Abu 'l-Aswad drew up the chapter on the agent and patient (*the subject and object of the verb*), a man of the tribe of Layth added thereto some chapters and, having found, on examination, that there existed, in the language of the (*desert*) Arabs, some expressions which could not be made to enter into that (*section*), he stopped short and abandoned the work. It is possible that this person was Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar, who, having contracted an alliance, by oath, with the tribe of Layth, was considered as one of its members. He was a Shī'ite of the primitive class, one of those who, in asserting the superior merit of the *People of the house*[1], abstained from depriciating the merit of those (*Companions*) who did not belong to that family. 'Āṣim Ibn Abi 'l-Najūd (*No. 294*) the *Qur'ān*-reader, related as follows: "Al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf (*No. 144*), being informed that Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar declared al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn to be of the posterity of the Apostle of God, and that he was then in Khurāsān, wrote to Quṭaybah Ibn Muslim (*No. 517*), the governor of that province, ordering him to send Yaḥyā to him. This was done and, when Yaḥyā stood in his presence, he said to him: 'Do you pretend that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were of the posterity of the Apostle of God? by Allāh! I shall cast (*to the ground*) that part of you which has the most hair on it[2], unless you exculpate yourself'. 'If I do so', said Yaḥyā, shall I have an amnesty?' 'You shall', replied al-Ḥajjāj. 'Well,' said Yaḥyā, 'God, may His praise be exalted! said: *And we gave unto him* (Abraham) *Isaac and Jacob: we directed them all; and Noah had we before directed, and, of his posterity, David and Solomon, and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron; thus do we reward the virtuous, and Zakariya, and John, and Jesus, and Elias; all of them were righteous.*[3] Now, the space of time between Jesus and Abrahām is greater than which separated

---

1 See *No. 767*.

2 That is: I shall strike off your head.

3 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 6, verse 84.

al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn from Muḥammad, on all of whom be the blessing of God and His salvation!' Al-Ḥajjāj answered: 'I must admit that you have got out of the difficulty; I read that before but did not understand it'." The quotation was most appropriate; how admirable the talent displayed by Yaḥyā in adducing that passage! How finely he applied it! "Then," said 'Āṣim, "al-Ḥajjāj said to him: 'Where were you born?' Yaḥyā answered: 'At Baṣrah'. 'Where were you brought up?' 'In Khurāsān.' 'And this pure Arabic (*which you speak*), how did you come by it[1]?' 'It was God's gift.' 'Tell me if I commit faults in speaking.' 'Yaḥyā remained silent, but as al-Ḥajjāj insisted on having an answer,' he at length said: 'O *Amīr*! since you ask me, I must say that you exalt what should be depressed and depress what should be exalted[2].' 'That, by Allāh! is a grave fault.' He then wrote these words to Quṭaybah: 'When this, my letter, reaches you, take Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar for your *qāḍī*. Salutation!" Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*) stated that he heard Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb[3] relate as follows: Al-Ḥajjāj said to Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar: 'Do you remark any incorrection in my speech?' 'Yes,' replied Yaḥyā, 'in one point'. 'What is that.' 'In reading the *Qur'ān*'. 'That were shameful indeed! what is it?' 'In reciting this verse: *Say, if your fathers and your sons*, and so forth to the words *be more dear* (aḥabba) *to you than God*[4] you pronounce *aḥabbu*." Ibn Sallām here observed: "It would appear from this that, as the phrase was long, al-Ḥajjāj forgot how it commenced. Al-Ḥajjāj then said: 'be assured that you shall never hear me commit such a fault again.' "Then," said Yunus, "he sent him to Khurāsān which, at that time, was governed by Yazīd, the son of al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah." God best knows which of these statements is exact. Ibn al-Jawzī (*No. 345*) says, in his *Shudhūr al-Uqūd*[5]: "In the year eighty-four of the Hijrah (A.C. 703), al-Ḥajjāj

1 The true reading is *annā hiyā laka*.

2 This passage signifies also: you put in the nominative what should be put in the accusative and *vice versa*. I suspect that Yaḥyā employed this equivocal expression designedly.

3 The life of Ibn Ḥabīb is given in No. 765, note.

4 *Qur'ān*, surah 9, verse 24.

5 This was a historical work. Its title signifies: *Golden beads for necklaces*.

banished Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar because on saying to him: 'Do I speak incorrectly,' he received this answer: 'You do but the fault is scarcely perceptible'. 'I give you three days,' said al-Ḥajjāj, 'and, if I find you, after that, in the land of 'Irāq, I shall put you to death.' In consequence of this, Yaḥyā left the country." Abū 'Amr Naṣr Ibn 'Alī Ibn Nūḥ Ibn Qays stated that the following relation was made to him by 'U<u>th</u>mān Ibn Miḥṣan (محصن): "The Commander of the faithful pronounced a *<u>kh</u>uṭbah* at Baṣrah, and in this discourse, he said 'Fear God! he that fears God incurs no *huwārah*'. The congregaton did not understand what he said and asked its meaning from Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar. He answered that the word *huwārah* signified *loss* and that the <u>kh</u>alif meant to say: He who fears God shall sustain no loss." Al-Qazzāz (*No. 626*) says, in his *Kitāb al-Jāmi' : Hawārāt* means *dangers*: its singular is *hawārah*. Al-Rāzī said: "I related this to al-Aṣma'ī (*No. 345*) and he answered: 'I never heard that till this very moment, now that you have told it to me. The rare expressions of the language are really very numerous, but that one I never heard' ". Al-Aṣma'i related as follows: "My father told me that Yazīd, the son of al-Muhallab, wrote, when in <u>Kh</u>urāsān, a letter to al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf in which he said: 'We met the enemy and forced him to take refuge on the summit *'ar'arat* of the hill, and we are at the foot of it *al-Ḥaḍīḍ*'. 'How,' said al-Ḥajjāj, 'did the son of al-Muhallab come by such words as these? and, being told that Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar was with him, he said: 'Ah! that explains it. Yaḥyā composed poetry and was the author of this verse:

'People concur only in hating my family; but, from the oldest times, people hate those who are good[1].' "

<u>Kh</u>ālid al-Ḥa<u>dh</u>dhā (*No. 539, note*) stated that Ibn Sīrīn (*No. 539*) possessed a copy of the *Qur'ān* in which Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar had marked the vowel points. He spoke the purest Arabic, using the most elegant terms without effort and quite naturally. His adventures and remarkable sayings are well known. He died in the year 129 (A.C. 746-7)[2], *Ya'mar or Ya'mur*,—but this latter

1 Literally: the fat.—This verse is by no means clear, and its application is not evident unless we suppose it to have been uttered by one of the 'Alids.

2 <u>Dh</u>ahabī, cited by the author of the *Nujūm*, places the death of Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar in the year 89 of the Hijrah.

form is neither current nor correct,—is the present tense of the verb *'amira*, which signifies *to live long*. This name, like that of Yaḥyā (*he lives*), was given to him as a presage of long life. *'Adwānī* means *descended from 'Adwān*, whose true name was al-Ḥārith and who was the son of 'Amr Ibn Qays 'Aylān. He received the surname of *'Adwān* (*hostility*) because he attacked his brother with the intention of killing him. *Washqī* means *descended from Washq*, who was the son of 'Awf, the son of Bakr, the son of Yashkur, the son of that same 'Adwān.

771 AL-FARRĀ THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Manẓūr al-Aslamī al-Daylamī al-Kūfī (*a Daylamite by origin and a native of Kūfah by birth*), was generally known by the surname of al-Farrā. He was a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Asad, or, according to another statement, of the tribe of Minqar. Al-Farrā was the most eminent of all the doctors of Kūfah and also the most distinguished by his knowledge of grammar, philology and the various branches of literature. Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab (*No. 41*) is stated to have said : "Were it not for al-Farrā, pure Arabic would no longer exist ; it was he who disengaged it (*from the ordinary language*) and fixed it (*by writing*). Were it not for al-Farrā, good Arabic had gone to the ground ; (*before his time*), it was a matter of discussion ; everyone who pleased had the pretention of knowing it and discoursed on it as well as his intelligence and his genius would permit, so that it had nearly disappeared'. He and al-Aḥmar[1] learned grammar from Abu 'l-Hasan al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*) ; they were the most eminent of his disciples and also the most attached to him. Al-Farrā, having resolved on entering into the service of (*the khalif*) al-Māmūn, went a great number of times to the door of the palace (*with the hope of obtaining admittance*), and,

1 'Alī al-Aḥmar (*the red*) was a soldier in al-Rashīd's *nūbā*, or body-guard. His knowledge of pure Arabic was so extensive that al-Kisā'ī got him appointed as tutor to that khalif's children. He died on his way to Makkah), A.H. 194 (A.C. 809-10). Flugel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, Part 1st, p. 134.

one day, whilst, he was waiting there, Abū Bi<u>sh</u>r <u>Th</u>umāmah Ibn al-A<u>sh</u>ras al-Numayrī (*No. 504, note*) a Mu'tazilite doctor who was intimate with (*the <u>kh</u>alif*) al-Māmūn, went up to him. "I saw, said <u>Th</u>umāmah, 'a person in the attire of a literary man; so, I sat down beside him and commenced putting to the test his knowledge of philosophy. Finding that he was (*in that branch*), an ocean (*of learning*), I tried him in grammar and discovered that he had not his parallel; I then examined him in jurispuredence and perceived that he was a good legist and well acquainted with the conflicting opinions of those people (*the juris consults*); I ascertained also that he was an able astronomer, a learned physician, and well-versed in the history of the (*desert*) Arabs, their battle-days and their poetry. On this, I said to him: 'Who are you? you must be al-Farrā!' He replied: 'I am he'. I immediately went in to the Commander of the faithful, al-Māmūn, informed him of the circumstance and got the order to have al-Farrā introduced without delay. It was thus that he became acquainted with al-Māmūn". Quṭrub (*No. 609*) related as follows: "Al-Farrā entered into the presence of (*the <u>kh</u>alif*) al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd and made a discourse in which he committed solecisms. On this, Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā the Barmakid (*No. 129*) said: 'Commander of the faithful! he speaks incorrectly.' The *<u>kh</u>alīf* said to al-Farrā: 'You commit solecisms?' and received this answer: 'Commander of the faithful! it is in the nature of the (*desert*) Arabs to employ correctly the final inflexions, and in the nature of those who inhabit fixed abodes to employ them incorrectly; when I am on my guard, I do not commit faults but, when I return to my natural habit, I commit them.' The *<u>kh</u>alīf* was satisfied with this answer. The *<u>Kh</u>aṭīb* (*No. 33*) says, in his history of Ba<u>gh</u>dād: "When al-Farrā got acquainted with al-Māmūn, the latter bid him draw up a work which should contain the principles of grammar and all the pure Arabic expressions which he had heard. He then ordered him to be confined in a chamber of the palace, and appointed male and female servants to attend him and furnish him with everything which he required; hoping, by this means, to deliver his heart from all preoccupations and to leave him nothing to wish for. They were even to inform him of the hours of prayers by chanting the *a<u>dh</u>ān* (*or call*) at the proper times. He sent to him also a number of copyists and attached to his

service confidential men and agents charged to pay the expenses. Al-Farrā then dictated, and the copyists wrote down his observations; and this continued during two years, until they had finished the work. It was entitled *al-Ḥudūd* (*the limits* or *chapters*[1].) Al-Māmūn ordered this book to be transcribed (*and placed*) in his libraries. When al-Farrā had finished his task, he went out in public and began the composition of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* (*rhetorical figures* employed in the *Qur'ān* ?). The narrator (*of these facts*) says: 'We tried to count the number of persons who assembled for the purpose of hearing him dictate (*and publish*) the text of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī*, but, not being able to do so (*they were so many*), we counted the *qāḍīs* only and found that they were eighty.' He continued to dictate the work till he finished it. The copyists then withheld it from the public, so that they might make money of it, and declared that they would not communicate it to any person unless be consented to have it copied by them at the rate of one *dirham* for five leaves[2]. Al-Farrā, to whom complaints were made on this subject, sent for the copyists and remonstrated with them. Their answer was: 'We attended your lessons in order to profit by your learning; of all your works this is the most essential; so, allow us to gain a livelihood by means of it.' He replied: 'Be more complaint with them; it will be for your advantage as well as theirs.' Finding that they would not follow his advice, he said to them: 'I shall let you see (*what you do not expect*), and then announced to the public that he would dictate the *Ma'ānī* and join to it a complete commentary, with fuller remarks than those already given. He therefore held sittings and dictated one hundred leaves on the word *al-ḥamd*[3] alone. The copyists then went to him and said: 'We shall concede to the public what they demand and copy for them at the rate of one dirham for ten leaves.' " What induced him to (*compose and*)

---

1 For the contents of this grammatical work, see Flugel's *Grammatische Schulen*, p. 134).

2 It is worthy of remark that a *dirham*, or six pence, for ten pages of copy, was considered as an exorbitant price, at Baghdād, towards the beginning of the ninth century of our era.

3 *Al-ḥamd* is the first word of the expression which, in Arabic means: "Praise be to God" and by which most Muslim books commence.

dictate the *Ma'ānī* was, that one of his disciples, who was then in the service of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No. 169*) and whose name was 'Umar Ibn Bukayr, wrote to him in these terms: "The *Amīr* al-Ḥasan is always asking me questions relative to the *Qur'ān*, and I cannot readily call to mind the proper answers. Would you be pleased to lay down for me certain fundamental principles, and compile, on that subject, a work to which I may refer." On reading this note, he invited his disciples to assemble and hear him dictate a work on the *Qur'ān*. On the appointed day, when all were present, he came in to them and told a man who acted as a *mu'adhdhin* in the mosque and who knew well the *Qur'ān*, to commence reciting (*the text of that book*). The man began by the *Fātiḥah*[1] and al-Farrā explained it, and this continued till they went over the whole book; the *mu'adhdhin* reciting and the professor explaining. This commentary fills about one thousand leaves; nothing like it had ever been composed before, and no person can possibly add to it. Al-Māmūn placed his two sons under al-Farrā's tuition, so that they might be instructed in grammar. One day, al-Farrā rose from his place; on some necessary occasion, and the two young princes hastened to bring him his slippers. They struggled between themselves for the honour of offering them to him, and they finally agreed that each of them should present him with one slipper. As al-Māmūn had secret agents who informed him of every thing that passed, he learned what had taken place and caused al-Farrā to be brought before him. When he entered, the *Khalīf* said to him: "Who is the most honoured of men?" Al-Farrā answered: 'I know not any one more honoured than the Commander of the faithful." "Nay," replied al-Māmūn, "It is he who arose to go out and the two designated successors of the Commander of the faithful contented for the honour of presenting him his slippers, and at length agreed that each of them should offer him one." To this al-Farrā answered: "Commander of the faithful! I should have prevented them from doing so had I not been apprehensive of turning them away from some honourable example which they had already received or discouraging their minds in the

1 The *Fātiḥah* or opening, is the name given to the first sūrah of the *Qur'ān*.

pursuit of that high estimation to which they ardently aspire. We know by tradition that Ibn 'Abbās held the stirrups of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, when they were getting on horse back after paying him a visit. One of those who were present said to him: 'How is that you hold the stirrups of these striplings, you who are their elder?' To which he replied: "Ignorant man! no one can appreciate the merit of people of merit except a man of merit.' Al-Māmūn then said to him: 'Had you prevented them, I should have inflicted on you the penalty of censure and reproach and should have declared you in fault. That which they have done is no debasement of their dignity; on the contrary, it exalts their merit, renders manifest their excellent nature and inspires me with a favourable opinion of their character. No man, though great in rank, can be dispensed, by his high position, from three obligations: he must respect his sovereign, venerate his father, and honour his preceptor. As a reward for their conduct, I bestow on them twenty thousand *dīnārs* (£10,000), and on you, for the good education which you give them, ten thousand *dirhams* (£500)." The following anecdote is related also by the *Khaṭīb*: "One day, al-Farrā was sitting in the house of the legist Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, who was the son of his aunt, and happened to say that few men ever mastered one branch of science without finding the others quite easy. On this, Muḥammad said: 'You, Abū Zakariyā! have studied pure Arabic; so, I shall question you on a point of (*canon*) law.' 'Let us hear your question,' said al-Farrā, '(*and I shall answer*) with the blessing of God.' Muḥammad then said to him: 'What do you say of a man who, in making the two satisfactory prostrations that some neglect in the accomplishment of the prescribed prayer rendered necessary, neglects, again, in these prostrations, something important?' Al-Farrā reflected for some time and then replied that the man incurred no obligation. 'Why so?' said his cousin. 'Because,' said he, 'according to us grammarians, a diminutive noun cannot be diminished again; and besides, the two prostrations are the completion of the prayer, and that which is complete requires no further completion.' On hearing this, Muḥammad exclaimed: 'Now, I am sure that a descendant of Adam never engendered a son like you!'" I already mentioned this anecdote

in the life of al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*) and there referred to the account which I give of it here. Al-Farrā had a leaning towards the doctrine of the Mu'tazilites. Salamah, the son of 'Āṣim, related as follows : "Al-Farrā told me that he and Bishr al-Marīsī (*No. 112*), lived together in the same house, for twenty-one years and that neither of them learned any thing from the other." Al-Jāhiẓ (*No. 481*) said : "I arrived at Baghdād, in the year 204 (A. C. 819-20), at the time of al-Māmūn's entry into that city. Al-Farrā used then to come to see me, and I wished him to learn scholastic theology (*kalām*), but he had no desire of doing so." Abu 'l-Abbās Tha'lab said : "Al-Farrā used to hold public sittings in the mosque adjoining his own house. He philosophized (*employed the philosophical style*) in his works to such a degree that he introduced philosophical terms into his discourse". Salama, the son of Aḥmad and the grandson of 'Āṣim said : "I wondered at al-Farrā's esteem for al-Kisā'ī whom he much excelled in grammatical knowledge." One of al-Farra's sayings was : "When I am dying, my soul shall undergo in some measure, the influence exerted by (*the conjunction*) *ḥattā* : it will be *depressed*, *elevated* and *afflicted*[1]." No verses have been handed down as his excepting the following, which were given by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (*No. 187, note*) on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Ṭuwāl :

"Lord of a single acre of ground, you have nine chamberlains ! You sit in an old ruin and have door-keepers to exclude visitors ! Never did I hear of a door-keeper in a ruined dwelling ! Never shall the eyes (*of men*) see me at a door of yours, a man like me is not made to support repulses from door-keepers."

I since discovered that these verses are attributed to Ibn Mūsā 'l-Makfūf*; God knows best ! Al-Farrā was born at Kūfah, whence he removed to Baghdād, which continued to be his usual place of residence. He was so ardent in the pursuit of gain that he could not remain quietly at home and, when he had passed a whole year

---

1 These terms in the language of the grammarians, signify : *govern the genitive case, the nominative and the accusative.*

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Malfūf.—Ed.

in hoarding up money, he would go to Kūfah, and pass there forty days with his people to whom he generously distributed the sum which he had collected. He composed a number of works, such as the *Ḥudūd* and the *Ma'ānī* of which treatises we have already spoken ; two works, one much larger than the other, on the *mushkil* (*or expressions of doubtful import*) which occur in the *Qur'ān* (?) ; the *Kitāb al-Bahī** (?), a small volume, of which I met a copy after drawing up the present article. It contains the greater part of the terms which Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab inserted in his *Faṣīḥ* (*No. 42*) ; it is of the same size as that book, and the only difference between them is, that the latter offers the same matters in another order : al-Farrā merely remodeled the work and made thereto a few additions. I may add that the *Bahī* contains a few terms which are not to be found in the *Faṣīḥ*, but there is very little difference between the two books. His other works are the *Kitāb al-Lughāt* (*on dialectical expressions*), the *Kitāb al-Maṣādir*, etc., (*on the nouns of action which are found in the Qur'ān*), the *Jam'a wa-Tathniyah, etc.* (*on the plurals and duals which occur in the Qur'ān*), the *Kitāb al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā* (*on the full stop and the commencement of phrases*), the *Kitāb al-Fākhir* ; var. *al-Mufākhir*†, the *Kitāb Ālat al-kātib* (*the tool for secretaries*), the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (*on rare expressions*) the *Kitāb al-Wāw* (*on the copulative conjuctions*) etc. Salamah, the son of 'Āsim, states that al-Farrā dictated (*most of*) his works from memory ; those dictated by him from copies which he held in his hand were the *Kitāb Mulāzim* (?) and the *Kitāb Yāfi' wa Yafa'ah*[1]. According to Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (*No. 616*) those two books contained about fifty leaves, and all his works filled three thousand leaves. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jahm[2] composed a poem in honour of al-Farrā ; its rhymes are formed by an *u* followed from the syllable *hi* ; but I abstain from

---

1 It is said that, in the whole Arabic language, no root furnishes two adjectives having the same signification and exactly similar in their form to the adjectives *yāfi'* (يافع) i.e. *adult*, and *yaf'ah* (يفعه) which come from the root *yafa'* يفع .

2 An interesting anecdote of this member of the Barmakid family is given in *No. 31*.

* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Bahā.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Mufākhir.—Ed.

inserting it here, to avoid lengthening this article. Al-Farrā died A. H. 207 (A. C. 822-3) on the road to Makkah, and at the age of sixty-three years. He was surnamed *al-Farrā* (*the furrier*), not because he manufactured or dealt in furs, but because he was a *farra* (*scanner* or *sifter*) of words. So says al-Sam'ānī in his *Ansāb*, and he cites for his authority the *Kitāb al-Alqāb*[1]. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī (*No. 621*) says, in his work)[2] that Ziyād, the father of al-Farrā, was maimed of his hand, it having been cut off in the war with al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī. This assertion requires to be examined : al-Farrā lived sixty-three years and was therefore born in the year 144 ; the war with al-Ḥusayn took place in A.H. 61; so, between that event and al-Farrā's birth, eighty-four years must have elapsed ; to what age then did his father live ? If the person who lost his hand was al-Farrā's grandfather, the thing had been possible. منظور must be pronounced *manẓūr*. We have already spoken of the word *Daylamī*, and of the *Banū Asad*. Minqar was the son of 'Ubayd, the son of Muqāis, whose real name was al-Ḥārith, the son of 'Amr, the son of Ka'b, the son of Sa'd, the son of Zayd Manāt, the son of Ṭamīm, the son of Murrah. The tribe named after him is very numerous and has produced a great number of remarkable men, some of whom were Companions of the Prophet. They were all surnamed *al-Minqarī*. Such were Khālid, the son of Ṣafwān, and Shabīb, the son of Shabbah[3]. Ṣafwān and Shabbah were the sons of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn al-Aktham al-Minqarī. Khālid and Shabib were noted as good orators, speaking with elegance and precision. Khālid had frequent sittings with the Commander of the faithful, al-Ṣaffāh, as is well-known and Shabīb was often in the society of (*the khalifs*) al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and others. Mention has been made of them both in our article on al-Buḥtūrī (*No. 743*).

---

1 In the bibliographical dictionery of Ḥājī Khalīfah, four works are mentioned which bear this title.

2 Ḥājī Khalīfah gives the titles of five works composed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī.

3 See *No. 295, note*. Two MSS, and the lithographed text of Ibn Quṭaybah's *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* read *Shaybah*.

772 ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-YAZĪDĪ

Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn al-Mughīrah al-'Adawī, surnamed al-Yazīdī, was a teacher of the *Qur'ānic* readings, a grammarian and a philologer. He studied under Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā al-Baṣrī *(No. 480)*, the great teacher of the readings, and succeeded him in that occuption. He inhabited Baghdād and there taught Traditions which he had learned from Abū 'Amr, Ibn Jurayj (*No. 350*) and others. Traditions were received from him and transmitted down by his son Muḥammad, by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*) by Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī *(No. 84)*, by a number of his own sons and grandsons, by Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī (*164, note*)[1], Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib* Ibn Ismā'īl[2], Abū Shu'ayb al-Sūsī[3], 'Āmir Ibn 'Umar al-Mawṣilī[4], Abū Khallād Sulaymān Ibn Khallād and others. He differed from Abū 'Amr respecting the manner of reading a few words in the *Qur'ān*, having adopted for them a manner of his own. As he had been preceptor to the children of Yazīd Ibn Manṣūr Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī[5], (*the Khlaif*) al-Mahdī's maternal uncle, he was surnamed *al-Yazīdī* (*the Yazīdiyan*). Hārūn al-Rashīd, to whose service he was subsequently attached, confided to him the education of his son al-Māmūn, who was still a child[6]. Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī was considered as a trustworthy Traditionist, a learned *Qur'ān*-reader and an elegant speaker; he was well acquainted with the idioms of the (*desert*) Arabs, skilled in grammar and veracious (*as a Traditionist*). A number of fine works were

1 The manuscripts and the printed editions read *Abū 'Amr*, but I follow the excellent copy of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā* which is in the Bibl. imp., ancient fonds, No. 742 ; see fol. 52.

2 Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib Ibn Ismā'īl al-Dhuhlī, a native of Baghdād and a teacher of the *Qur'ān*-reading was noted for the sanctity of his life. The date of his death is not given. (*Ṭab al-Qurrā*, f. 53).

3 Abū Shu'ayb Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ziyād al-Sūsī, a *Qur'ān*-reader of great authority, died A.H. 261 (A.C. 874-5), aged upwards of ninety years. (*Ṭāb al-Qurrā*, f. 53.)

4 Abu 'l-Fatḥ 'Āmir Ibn 'Umar, a native of Moṣul, a teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings and a Traditionist, died A.H. 250 (A.C. 864-5).—(*Ṭab al-Qurrā*, f. 60).

5 Our author speaks of this chief at the end of the present article.

6 The Arabic merely says : He placed al-Māmūn in his lap.

* Al-Ṭabīb (physician) in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

composed by him. His views were just and his poetry (*so good that it*) was collected into a *dīwān*. The philolgoical work entitled *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (*book of rarities*) was drawn up by him on the plan of the *Nawādir* which al-Aṣma'ī (*No. 354)* composed for Ja'far the Barmakid *(No 129*), and contains designedly, the same number of leaves as that treatise. He obtained his knowledge of pure Arabic and of the history of the people (*the adventures and quarrels of the Arabic tribe*) from Abū 'Amr (*Ibn al-'Alā*), al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad *(No. 208*) and other learned men of that age. Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib* related as follows: "I met the son of Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah (*No. 91)* who had just taken down in writing a mass of information which had been dictated to him by Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, and all of which the latter declared to have received from Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā. It filled nearly one thousand *jilds (*or *skins*), each *jild* forming about ten leaves: so there were ten thousand leaves in all." Al-Yazīdī obtained an immense quantity of philological information from al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, and wrote down under his dictation the rules of prosody, which science that master had just begun to discover, he placed, however, his principal reliance on Abū 'Amr, whose extensive acquaintance with pure Arabic he highly appreciated. At one time, he kept a school for boys, opposite to the house in which Abū 'Amr resided, and was then admitted into the familiarity of that doctor, who became very partial to him on account of his quick intelligence. The information transmitted down by him is considered as perfectly genuine. His works are the: *Nawādir* of which we have just spoken, the *Maqṣūr wa al-Mamdūd* (*on the short and the long alif)*, a compendium of grammar and a treatise on the vowels (*nuqāt*) and diacritical points (*shakl*). Ibn al-Munādī[1] related as follows: "I frequently asked about (*the moral character of)* Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, his veracity and his credibility as a relator of Traditional knowledge. These questions I addressed to a number

1 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far al-Munādī, a celebrated Traditionist and *Qur'ān*-reader, was highly esteemed for the exactitude of his information, his knowledge of history and his acquaintance with pure Arabic. He died in the month of Muḥarram, 336 (July-August, A.C. 947). *Ṭab. al-Qurrā*, f. 78).

* Al-Ṭabīb in 'Abd al-Ḥimīd.—Ed.

of our *Shaykhs*, some of them professors of Arabic, other of *Qur'ān*-reading and others of Traditions; and they all declared that he was trustworthy and veracious, and that he never felt fatigue nor dislike in the pursuit even of the slightest information which could be obtained from oral Tradition. 'But', said they, 'he was suspected of being inclined towards the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites.'" Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām taught the text of the *Gharīb* (*unusual and obscure expressions of the Qur'ān and the Traditions*) on the sole authority of Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, because he well knew the eminent merit of that doctor. In the reign of al-Rashīd, al-Yazidi and al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*) held sittings together and taught *Qur'ān*-reading to the public. Al-Kisā'ī was preceptor to al-Amīn (*the son of al-Rashīd*), and al-Yazīdī to al-Māmūn (*the other son*). By the order of that khalif, al-Kisā'ī taught his pupil the system of reading (*ḥarf*) adopted by Ḥamzah (*No. 199*) and al-Yazīdī taught him the system of Abū 'Amr (*Ibn al-'Alā*). "Al-Yazīdī," said al-Athram (*No. 531, note*), "entered one day into the house of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad and found him seated on a cushion. Al-Khalīl made room for him and invited him to sit down beside him. Al-Yazīdī did so and then said: 'I am sure that I inconvenience you.' 'Nay,' replied al-Khalīl, 'no place is too narrow for two friends or too wide for two enemies.'" Al-Māmūn, having asked al-Yazīdī about something, received from him this answer: "No; and may God accept my life as a ransom for yours, Commander of the faithful!" "Well said!" exclaimed the Khalif, "never was the word *and* better placed than in the phrase which you have just uttered[1]." He then made him a present. "One day," said al-Yazīdī, "I went to see al-Māmūn; all nature was smiling[2], and his female musician Nu'ām*, who was one of the handsomest women of the age, was singing to him an air of which these were the words:

"You pretended that I had wronged (*you*) and, fled from me, but in flying, you shot an arrow which pierced me to the

1 Had the word *and* not been inserted, the phrase would have signified: May God not accept my life, etc.

2 Such appears to be the meaning of the expression *al-dunyā ghadhdhah*, which signifies literally: the world was flourishing.

* Omitted in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

heart. You did well to fly; but be indulgent and pardon me; this is the spot where the proscript finds a refuge; this is the place to which he whom love has afflicted may retreat, to which he whose eyes have been wounded by your beauty may run for protection. You have robbed my heart of its ease, yet, may God never paralyse the hand which committed that theft!"

Al-Māmūn made her sing the same piece three times and then said: 'Tell me, Yazīdī! can there be anything (*in life*) better than what we are now engaged in?' I answered: 'There is, Commander of the faithful!' 'What is it?' said he. I replied: 'The giving of thanks to Him Who has granted to you this great and signal favour.' He answered: 'You are in the right and have said the truth.!' He then, after making me a present, ordered one hundred thousand dirhams (£2,500) to be brought in, so that he might give it away in alms. I have still before my eyes the sight of purses as they were brought in and of the money as it was distributed." Al-Yazīdī complained, one day, to al-Māmūn of being in great need, by reason of debts which he had incurred. The khalif answered: "We have not, at present, means of giving you wherewithal you may obtain (*the deliverance*) you desire." "Commander of the faithful," said al-Yazīdī, "I am reduced to great straits and my creditors are hard upon me. Think of some expedient for me." Al-Māmūn reflected a little, and it was then agreed upon between them that al-Yazīdī should come to the door of the palace, when the khalif was holding one of his familiar parties, and there write a note in which he would request to be admitted or to have one of the sovereign's boon companions sent out to him. When the company were assembled, al-Yazīdī came to the door and gave the servant a sealed letter. Al-Māmūn, to whom it was brought in, opened it and found that it contained these lines:

"Worthiest of brethren and of friends! I am here, as a parasite, waiting at your door. Let me make one of the society or send out to me one of my companions (*to keep me company*)."

Al-Māmūn read the letter to those who were present and said: "It is not fit that such a parasite should enter here, in such a

state (*as we are*)." He then sent out to him this message: "Your entrance here, at this hour, is impossible; choose for yourself the person whom you wish for a boon companion." When al-Yazīdī received this missive, he answered "I can make for myself no better choice than 'Abd Allāh Ibn Tāhir (*No. 318*)." Al-Māmūn then said to 'Abd Allāh: "His choice has fallen on you, so you must go out to him." The other replied: Commander of the faithful! must I become the associate of a parasite?" The khalīf answered; I cannot possibly turn him from his intention; but you have the choice of going out to him or of avoiding that obligation by paying a fine." "I shall give him ten thousaud dirhams (£500)," excalimed 'Abd Allāh. "I do not think," said al-Māmūn that, for so small a sum, he will forego the pleasure of your company." 'Abd Allāh then offered ten thousand more, and then another ten, whilst the khalif continued to say: "I do not think that enough for him." When the offer mounted up to one hundred thousand dirhams, al-Māmūn said: "Send them to him quickly." 'Abd Allāh wrote a draught on his intendant for the sum and sent it off by a messenger. Al-Māmūn then said (*to al-Yazīdī*): "In the present case, it is better for you to accept this sum than to carouse with 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir whilst he is in his present state." Al-Yazīdī consented to receive the money. He (al-Māmūn ?) was very adroit in every thing he did. Abū Aḥmad Ja'far al-Balkhī[1] relates in his book[2], that al-Yazīdī asked al-Kisā'ī's opinion respecting the following verses:

"I do not think that a *kharab* can be hatched from its egg by a falcon. The '*ayr* is not a horse's foal, (*it*) is not; the foal (*is but*) a foal."

The word *kharab* signifes *a male bustard*[3], and '*ayr* means the *male of the onager*. Al-Kisā'ī answered that *the last of*

---

1 Abu Aḥmad Ja'far Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Balkhī was a doctor of the Ḥanafi sect and the author of some controversial works, the titles of which are given by Ḥājī Khalīfah, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*. The year of his death is not mentioned.

2 I am unable to indicate the title of this book, the author having composed more works than one.

3 In Arabic, *hubāra*. Dr. Shaw has given a description of it in his Travels.

the words) foal ought to be in the accusative, because it is the object of the verb *to be* (*which in Arabic governs the accusative*)[1]; so, that being admitted, there is, in the rhyme, a fault of the kind called *iqwā*.[2] "Nay" replied al-Yazīdī, "the verse is correct, for the phrase finishes with the second *is not*, which merely serves to corroborate the first. After these words, the poet enounces a new proposition and says: *The foal* (is but) *a foal*." He then (*bowed so low that he*) struck the floor with his bonnet and exclaimed: "(*It is*) I, Abū Muḥammad, (*who say so* !)," Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid the Barmakide (*who was there present, felt scandalised at this conduct and*) said to him: "How dare you (*be so familiar as to*) pronounce your surname in the presence of the Commander of the faithful? By Allāh! al-Kisā'ī's mistake joined to his good breeding, is better than your right answer, joined to your unpoliteness." To this, al-Yazīdī answered: "The sweetness of my triumph put me off my guard." I must here observe that al-Kisā'ī was wrong in saying that the verse contained an *iqwā*, for, in the technical language of the prosodians, the term *iqwā* designates specially a change in the grammatical inflexion (*or vowel*) which accompanies the letter (*or consonant*) forming the rhyme, and this change consists in nothing more that the substitution of an *o* (*the sign of the nominative*) for an *i* (*the sign of the genitive*), or *vice versa*; that is, one of the rhyme-consonants takes an *o* and the other an *ī*; but if the discordance exists between two verses, so that one rhyme-consonant takes an *a* (*the sign of the accusative*) and the other an *o* or an *i*, that irregularity is not called an *iqwā* but an *iṣrāf*. Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (*No. 46*) alludes irregularities in one of his longer poems containing a lament on the death of the *Sharīf* al-Tāhir, the father of al-Riḍā (*No. 641*) and of al-Murtaḍā (*No. 418*); he thus describes the croaking of the raven:

---

1 Al-Kisā'ī, meant to say that *muhro*, which is the last word of the verse and in the nominative case, should have been put in the accusative and pronounced *muhra*. He was mistaken.

2 For the meaning of this technical term and those which occur farther, on, see de Sacy's *Traite de prosodie arabe* and Freytag's *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*.

"It is modelled on the *'īṭā* and is devoid of *iqwā*, or *ikfā*, and of *iṣrāf*.[1] "

This verse being connected (*by its meaning*) with those which precede, cannot be rendered intelligible unless the other be cited, and that we think unnecessary to do here. I merely quote it as an example ; that is all. Some say that the *iṣrāf* is a variety of the *iqwā* ; if that be so, al-Kisā'ī was right in what he said. This paragraph is a superfluity but contains some useful information. The greater part of al-Yaḍīdī's poetry is good. Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim (*No. 753*) speaks of him in the *Kitāb al-Bāri'* and gives some fragments of his composition ; such, for instance, are the following satirical lines, directed against al-Aṣma'ī al-Bāhilī (*No. 354*) :

"You who pretend to draw your origin from Aṣma', tell me how you are connected with that noble race ? Are you not a man whose genealogy, if verified, proves that you descend from Bāhilah ? "[2]

"This last verse" said Ibn al-Munajjim, "is one of the most satirical which have been composed by the later poets." I may add that the idea contained in it is borrowed from the following verse in which Ḥammād 'Ajrad (*No. 197*) attacked Bashshār, the son of Burd (*No. 110*) :

"You call yourself the son of Burd, though you are the son of another man ; or, grant that Burd married your mother ; who was Burd ? "

Here is another of his (*al-Yazīdī's*) satirical pieces :

"Be careful not to lose the friendship of Abu 'l-Muqātil, when you approach (*to partake of*) his meal. Breaking his crumpet, is, for him, as bad as breaking one of his limbs. His guests fast against their will and without meaning to obtain the (*spiritual*) reward which is granted to fasting."

---

1 These terms of prosody have probably other significations in the ordinary language, but it is not necessary to indicate them.

2 "More despicable than a Bāhilite" was a common proverb among the Arabs.

In our article on al-Mubarrad, we have given (*No. 610*) a passage taken from one of al-Yazīdī's poems and directed against Shaybah Ibn al-Walīd. Amongst the numerous anecdotes and stories which he handed down, we may notice the following: "A man, pretending to be a Prophet, was arrested and taken before (*the khalif*) al-Mahdī: 'Are you a Prophet?' said al-Mahdī: 'I am' said the prisoner. 'To whom were you sent (*on a mission*)?' The man replied: 'Did you allow me to go to any person? why, the very moment I received my mission, you cast me into prison!' The khalif laughed and said: 'Go and be converted unto God.'" Al-Yazīdī had five sons who became distinguished as men of learning, philologers, poets and narrators of historical anecdotes. Their names were Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Ubayd Allāh and Abū Ya'qūb Isḥāq. All of them composed works on philology and genuine Arabic. Muḥammad, who was the eldest, was also the best poet among them[1]. According to Di'bil al-Khuzā'ī (*No. 213*), he was the author of these lines:

"Why should you travel about when the person whom you love (*and pursue*) dwells in a fixed abode? That, assuredly, is an enormous fault. As long as you assist Fortune and Care against yourself, whom can you have to blame? (*The lover answered*): I am miserable, yet shall I never think of her with indifference, neither will she be clement, though, by her, I am miserable."

He composed also these lines:

"O thou whose dwelling is so far off! thou whose name is always on my tongue and whose image is in my heart[2]. The vicissitudes of Fortune may remove thee to a distant land, yet still shall my desires bring near to me thy image."

He composed a great quantity of good poetry and assisted his father in the education of al-Māmūn. In the latter part of his life he became dull of hearing. When al-Māmūn set out for

---

1 For an account of the members of the Yazīdī family, most of whom were distinguished literary men, see professor Flugel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*. p. 90.

2 Literally: who are joined to my heart and to my tongue.

Khurāsān, he (*Muḥammad al-Yazīdī*) went with him, and remained in his service after their arrival in the city of Marw. He continued to reside there till the accession of al-Mu'taṣim ; whom he then accompanied to Egypt, where he died. His father, Abū Muḥammad, died A.H. 202 (A.C. 817-8) in Khurāsān, and probably at Marw, whither he had accompanied al-Māmūn from Baghdād and where the latter had established his residence. I since found in Abū 'Amr al-Dānī's[1] *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā* (*chornological list of Qur'ān-readers*), that he died at Marw in the year just mentioned, but the author then adds these words: "Ibn al-Munādī related that, according to what he had heard, he lived to within a few years of a century and died at Baṣrah ; but the first statement is the truest." God knows best! We have already spoken of his grandson Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī (*No. 614*), and given the date of his death with some account of him and of his merit. (*'Adawī*) means *belonging to the family of 'Adī*, who was the son of 'Abd-Manāt, the son of Udud, the son of Ṭābikhah, the son of al-Yās, the son of Muḍar, the son of Nizār, the son of Ma'add, the son of 'Adnān. The descendants of 'Adī formed a numerous and celebrated tribe. Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī belonged to it in the quality of a *mawlā*; his grandfather, al-Mughīrah, having been the enfranchised slave of an 'Adawide woman and having therefore been surnamed *al-'Adawī*. At the beginning of this article we have explained the meaning of the surname *al-Yazīdī* and mentioned who Yazīd was ; I need not repeat that account here. Many of al-Yazīdī's descendants were men of eminent talent and renown, authors of books and composers of charming and celebrated poems. Some of these pieces I should give here, were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much. The posterity of al-Yazīdī were highly proud of the work composed by his son Ibrāhīm and entitled *Mā ittafaq lafẓuh etc.* (*list of homonyms*). This treatise contains every term

1 See *No. 713*. One of al-Dānī's works is a manual for the student of the *Qur'ānic* readings, and is entitled the *Muqni'*. Its contents have been made known to us by Mr. de Sacy, in the *Notices et Extraits*, t. VIII. See also t XX, p. 456 of the same work in the second part of my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena.*

which has different significations. I saw a copy of it in four volumes. It is a most valuable work and affords an evident proof of the vast learning and extensive information possessed by the author. Other good and useful works were composed by the same person. This also may be said of the other members of his family : they composed works which are in great repute. Yazīd the Ḥimyarite, who was the maternal uncle of (*the khalif*) al-Mahdī, held a high rank under the 'Abbāsids and acted as governor of Baṣrah and of Yaman in the name of al-Manṣūr. He died at Baṣrah, A.H. 165 (A.C. 781-2). It was of him that Bashshār Ibn Burd said :

"Abū Khālid ! you who, when young, were an able swimmer in the ocean (*of generosity*), are encamped on its border, now that you are grown old. You were formerly beneficient, but you fell back from that habit, till you went treading in the beaten path of ordinary men. The rank to which you attained is exalted to an extreme degree and, to an extreme also, has your fair renown declined ; you are like 'Abd Allāh's cat, which, when young, was sold for a dirham and, when old, for a *qīrāṭ*." [1]

After searching uselessly for the anecdote of 'Abd Allāh's cat in the works which I imagined would have contained it, I consulted the persons who were versed in those matters but could obtain no information on the subject. I then met with the following verses, the author of which was al-Farazdaq (*No. 763*) :

"I saw other people increase in honour, day by day, whilst your honour gradually declined. (*You are*) like the cat which, when young, bears a high value and, when old, is cheap."

It was from these verses that Bashshār borrowed his idea ; he did not mean a particular cat, but meant to say that every cat which, when young, was sold dear, lost its value when it grew old.

773 AL-TIBRĪZĪ.*

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Bisṭām al-Shaybānī al-Tibrīzī (*a member of the tribe of Shaybān*

---

1 By the term *qīrāṭ*, the poet probably meant to designate the twenty-fourth part of the dirham.

* The Arabs pronounce it thus.—Ed.

and native of Tabriz), generally known by the title of al-Khaṭīb (*the preacher*) was one of the great masters in (*the science of Arabic*) philology, and possessed a perfect knowledge of polite literature, such as grammar and philology. He made his studies under Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (*No. 33*), Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-Raqqī[1], Abū Muḥammad al-Dahhān the philologer[2], and other literary men. He heard Traditions delivered, in the town of Ṣūr (*Tyre*), by the legist Abu 'l-Fatḥ Sulaym Ibn Ayyūb al-Rāzī (*No. 251*) Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yusuf al-Dallāl al-Sāwī[3], Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Raqqī and others. Traditions were delivered on his authority by the Khaṭīb and *ḥafiẓ* Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Thābit (*No. 33*), the author of the History of Baghdād, by the *ḥafiẓ* Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir[4], Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb Ibn Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī (*No. 724*), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khayr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl al-Anda-

---

1 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Zunayn (زنين) al-Raqqī (*a native of Raqqah, in Mesopotamia*) and an inhabitant of Baghdād, was highly distinguished for his talents. He was versed in grammar, Arabic philology, polite literature and the art of calculating inheritance shares. He composed also a work on the theory of the rhyme; in prosody. One of his masters was Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. His death took place in the year 450 (A.C. 1058-9). Suyūtī's *Biographical Dictionary of grammarians and literary men*; ms. of the *Bibl. imp.*, supplement, n. 683.

2 Our author has already noticed an Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn al-Mubārak al-Dahhān (*No. 247*), a grammarian of great celebrity; but the Abū Muḥammad al-Dahhān of whom he speaks here, lived in the preceding century, and was the son of Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī. He was an able grammarian, versed in Arabic philology, jurisprudence and the *Qur'ān*-readings. In his lectures on jurisprudence, he adhered to the system followed in 'Irāq (*the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfah*), and, in dogmatic theology, he followed the system of the Mu'tazilites. He taught also the Traditions and had al-Tibrīzī for a pupil. He was very negligent in his dress. Died A.H. 447 (A.C. 1055.)—Suyūṭī's *Grammarians.*

3 Various readings : *al-Sayyārī, al-Sayyādī* :

4 Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir, one of the great Traditionists of 'Irāq, was born A.H. 467 (A.C. 1074-5). He became eminent as a grammarian, philologer, legist and historian. He died in the month of Sha'bān, A.H. 550 (October, A.C. 1155)—(*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*.)

lusi[1] and other distinguished men. A great number of students commenced and finsihed their education under him. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370) speaks of him in the *Dhayl* and in the *Ansāb*; he enumerates his merits and says: "I heard Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Khayrūn[2], the teacher of the *Qur'ān* readings, state that Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī al-Tibirīzī did not hold a satisfactory conduct; he then related some things respecting him and said: 'I asked the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir his opinion of what Ibn Khayrūn had said (*concerning al-Tibirīzī's character*), but he kept silent as if he would not contradict what had been said[3], but he at length declared that al-Tibirīzī, as a philologer, was a sure authority and that the information which he handed down was worthy of credit.'" Al-Tibrīzī composed some instructive works on literature, such as a commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* (*No. 143*), a commentary on al-Mutanabbī's (*No. 49*) poems, a

---

1 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khayr Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, a native of Valencia in Spain, received also the surname of al-Ṣīnī (*the Chinese*) because he had gone to China in search of Traditional information. After encountering many dangers in his travels, he fixed his residence in Baghdād, where he studied jurisprudence under the celebrated doctor Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī. Subsequently to a journey made to Iṣbahān, where he heard Traditions taught by the doctors of that city, he returned to Baghdād, studied the belles-lettres under Yaḥyā al-Tibrīzī and died there, in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 541 (June-July., A.C. 1146).—(Al-Maqqarī. Arabic text, vol. I, p. 895).

2 Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Khayrūn, a native of Baghdād and teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings, was noted for the surety of his information and the sanctity of his life. He composed a work on the readings entiled *al-Miftāḥ* (*the key*) and died in the month of Rajab A.H. 530 (January, A.C. 1145) at an advanced age.—(*Ṭabaqāt al-Qurra*, no. 742, fol. 148).

3 Tibrīzī's moral character does not appear in the best light, if we may judge after a piece of verse composed by him and given farther on. Ibn Khayrūn must have often been scandalized by facts of this nature, as the most eminent doctors and many of the sovereigns who patronized poets and literary men, took the greatest pleasure in composing and listening to poems which cannot be transferred, undisguised, into any European language. Ibn *Khallikān* himself cites, with complacency, verses which do not admit of a literal translation. Amongst the Muslim princes, *'ulamā, qāḍīs* and poets, there were probably but few who could say, with Ovid: *Amore puerorum tangor minus.*

commentary on Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī's (*No. 46*) *Dīwān* entitled *Siqṭ al-Zand*[1], *a commentary on the seven Mu'allaqahs*, a commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*[2], *a Tahdhib* (*or remodeling*) of the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*[3], a *Tahdhib* of the *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*[4]. He is the author of a good introduction to grammar, having for object the elucidation of the secrets of that art; this work is very rare. He composed also a treatise on prosody and rhyme, entitled *al-Kāfī* (*the sufficient*), a treatise on the parsing of the *Qur'ān*, to which he gave the title of *al-Mulakhkhhaṣ* (*the summary*) and a copy of which I saw in four volumes. His commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* forms three works, the greater commentary, the middle and the less[5]. Other works also were composed by him. We have related in our article on the Khaṭīb Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī what passed between that historian and al-Tibrīzī, when the latter was studying under him at Damascus and to that article we refer the reader[6]. He (*al-Tibrīzī*) studied polite literature at the Niẓāmiyah college in Damascus. The motive which induced him to go to Abu 'l-'Alā al Ma'arrī, was, that having procured a copy of Abū Manṣūr al-Azhari's (*No. 613*) *Kitāb al-Tahdhīb*, in four small volumes, he wished to verify the correctness of its text under the direction of some person well versed in

---

1 See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie, arabe*, t. III, p. 90.

2 The *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* is a collection of ancient poems. An edition of this rare and precious compilation with al-Marzūqi's commentry, is to be published at Berlin by Mr. Gosche.

3 Gharīb al-Ḥadīth means *rare* and *obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions*. A number of works were composed on this subject, but the most noted was that of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*).

4 The work entitled *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq (correction of discourse)* was composed by Ibn al-Sikkīt, a philologer whose life will be found in this work.

5 Tibrīzī's middle commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* is that which has been published by Freytag. It is frequently diffuse and unsatisfactory. The information borrowed by the author from his predecessors is often very useful, but his own communications are generally philological futilites. In explaining the verses of the text, he disserts on what is simple and evident, but seldom attempts to clear up a real difficulty.

6 The passage to which our author refers is not to be found in any of the manuscripts. It is absent also in the printed editions.

philology, and Abu 'l-'Alā was indicated to him as the fit man. He put the volumes into a bag and carried them on his back from Tabrīz to al-Ma'arrah, not having the means of hiring whereon to ride. The transpiration penetrated from his back into the books and left on them marks of humidity. They are now in a *waqf* [1] at Baghdād, and, when a person not acquainted with what happened, sees them, he thinks that they must have remained for some time under water; these stains are, however, nothing else than the sweat of al-Tibrīzī. So I find it related in the history of the grammarians composed by al-Qāḍi al-Akram Ibn al-Qifṭi, the wazir, of Aleppo (*No. 510, note*). God knows if his account be true! Al-Tibrīzi went to Egypt when a young man and had there for a pupil the *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir Ibn Bābshād, the grammarian (*No. 280*) to whom he communicated some philological information. He then returned to Baghdād and continued to reside there till the day of his death. He taught from memory a great number of poems which he had learned from the author, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Muḥayrīz[2] al-Baghdādi; such, for instance as the following piece, given by al-Sam'ānī in that article of the *Dhayl*, which treats of the Khaṭib al-Tibrīzī. It is the best known of that poet's productions:

"O my two friends! how sweet were the morning draughts which I took on the bank of the Tigris and yet sweeter were those of evening at al-Ṣarāt[3]. Near these two streams I drank the liquor of a vine; it was like melted cronelian, and they were like liquid pearls. Two moons were then present; one, that of the heavens and the other a moon (*a young beauty*) of the earth; one inspiring desire for the sweets of love, the other enamoured. I kept filling the cup (*for that earthly moon*) and sipping nectar from her lips whilst she kept filling for me and drinking from my lips.

---

1 *No. 729.*

2 According to some MSS. *Naḥrīr*. The person who bore this name is not noticed in the works consulted by the translator.

3 *No. 129, note.*

I said to the full moon (*of heaven*): 'Do you know who is this?' and she answered: 'I do; it is my twin sister[1].'"

These verses are the finest and the most elegant which poetry can offer. The idea expressed in the second verse is borrowed from Abū Bakr al-Dāni Ibn Labbānah (*No. 660*), who said, in a long *qaṣīdah* which he composed in praise of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 660*), the sovereign of Seville:

"I asked his brother, the (*bountiful*) ocean, what he thought of al-Mu'tamid and he answered: He is my brother; but he is always tranquil and sweet."

It was not sufficient for the poet to represent that prince as the brother of the ocean, but he must add that he was tranquil and sweet, whereas, the ocean is agitated and salt. This is an example of pure and original eulogium. The *qaṣīdah* itself begins thus:

"She wept on bidding me farewell, and her fellow-travellers knew not whether those tears were drops of dew or pearls fresh *(from the shell)*. She was followed by a band *(of maidens)*, Nay! I am wrong; the word *band* cannot be said of stars shining through the darkness of night."

This poem is of considerable length, and I therefore abstain from giving it all, lest I should be drawn away from my subject. The khaṭīb (*al-Tibrīzī*) related that the following lines were recited to him by the author, who was the Ibn Muḥayrīz above mentioned:

"Maidens of the tribe of Muḍar! (*your companion*) Salmā is sister to the moon (*in beauty*). O may Salmā never afflict me (*with her disdain*)! she has abandoned my eyes to unceasing wakefulness. Whether she turn away from me or towards me, my heart's blood is equally in peril. I have lodged the whiteness of her teeth in the black (*core*) of my heart and (*the pupil*) of my eye."

He himself composed some poetry, such, for instance, as the following lines:

---

1 In this translation the word *sister* is placed for *brother* and the gender of certain pronouns has been changed. For the reason see note 3 on page 277.

"Some persons are surfeited with a day's travelling, but I am surfeited with dwelling in the same place. I have resided in 'Irāq amongst the vilest of men, descendants of the vile."

He related also that al-'Imād* al-Fayyāḍ wrote to him as follows:

"Say to Yaḥyā, the son of 'Alī, though discourse assumes various characters, yet, mine contains neither falsehood nor deception; (*say to him*): You are merit in person, when the eyes of men are turned towards merit; true merit has obtained, through you, its real value. All those who once existed are surpassed by you, and those who now exist are fatigued in following your footsteps. You were born under one of those conjunctions which occur after a lapse of many centuries. Other men, compared with you, are as cloudy weather compared to a clear sky. When inquiries are made respecting them, the accounts received are various; from what we have heared and seen, (*some are like*) level plains and (*others like*) rugged ground. If we weighed against you all who ever existed, (*we would find you to be*) a king (*and them mean*) artisans. What are now (*the tribes of*) Shaybān and Azd? all said respecting them is mere conjecture. You are the stem of (*the tree of*) learning and other men are only its branches. You are the ocean, and the men most distinguished for their merit are mere springs of water. The sword, if put (حل) to the test, is far superior to scabbards. The *mu'allā* is not equal to the *fadd*, neither is Ḥajūn to be compared with Makkāh's temple[1], Mirth and levity may amuse, but serious affability is far above them. White females and brown are not on an equality in beauty. A married female may please, but nothing is so charming as a young virgin. I said to the envious: 'Be whatever you wish to be; he who shoots farthest obtains the prize, whether you be proud or humble.' May your life endure as long as the definition of motion differs from that of rest! May your wishes be accomplish-

1 The Arabs of the desert made use of ten arrows in casting lots: each arrow had a particular mark and a particular name. That which gained the entire pool was called the *mu'allā*; that which entitled the drawer to one seventh of the pool was called the *fadd*.—Ḥājūn was the name of a valley near Makkah.

* Al-'Amīd in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

ed as long as birds dwell in nests! My affection for you has been carefully preserved from all admixtures which alter affection; in me its exterior manifestation is not in disaccord with the interior; nay, the love which my heart bears towards you is formed of sincerity. Make a wager (*about it*), for wagers are sometimes made on love-matters; if one man be deceitfnl, another is sincere."

Ibn al-Jawālīqī (*No. 724*) relates that his *Shaykh* the Khaṭīb Abū Zakariyā (*al-Tibrizī*) said to him: I then wrote to al-'Imād al-Fayyāḍ these verses:

"Say to al-'Imād*; the brother of high eminence: I am but a drop of water from your overflowing ocean. You have raised me to honour and gained me high renown, in bestowing on me so ample a vestment of eulogium. Out of your gracious bounty you have clothed me in a raiment of poetry, and I, proud of that attire, have marched about in the height (*of glory*) and in the gardens (*of delight*). I here give you a pebble in return for a pearl which was the produce of a cultivated mind. My genius would be at a stop, did it attempt any thing similar; it could hardly produce a fraction (*of such excellence as yours*). How could a streamlet compete with the vast ocean? how could a pebble be compared with a pearl? You, the able horse man in (*the career of*) that jewel-adorned poetry and that prose which dissipate even the pains of sickness! you who, by your abilities, aim at the highest point (*of perfection and attain it*)! know that my talent cannot reach so far. Impose not on me the task of giving you fitting praise; such a duty I am unable to fulfil. My talent has been always too feeble; for poetry; I have often turned away from making verses, and even with great aversion. Be then so kind as to excuse me; I avow that, compared with your abundance, talent like mine is poverty".

Al-Tibrizī was born in the year 421 (A. C. 1030); he died suddenly at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 27th of the latter Jumādā 502 (1st Feb., A. C. 1109), and was interred in the cemetery at the Ābrīz gate. In *Bisṭām*, the letter *b* is followed by an *i*. We have already spoken of *Shaybānī* (*No. 42*) and of *Tibrizī* (*No. 570*): so, we need not repeat our observations.

* al-'Amīd in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

774 IBN MUṬĪ AL-ZAWĀWĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭī'[1] Ibn 'Abd al-Nūr al-Zawāwī, surnamed Zayn al-Dīn (*the ornament of religion*), was a member of the Ḥanafī sect and one of the great masters of the age as a grammarian and a philologer. He resided at Damascus for a long time and had a great number of pupils to whom his tuition was highly profitable. Some useful works were composed by him[2]. Having removed to Miṣr *(Old Cairo)*, on the invitation of al-Malik al-Kāmil (*No. 668*), he opened a course of literature in the mosque called *al-Jāmī' al-'Atīq*, and received, for his pains, a fixed salary. He remained there till his death; he died in New Cairo, towards the end of the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 628 (Sept., A.C. 1231), and was buried, the next day, on the border of the Khandaq *(fosse)* which is in the vicinity of the imām al-Shāfi'ī's mausoleum. His tomb is still to be seen. He was born in the year 564 (A.C. 1168-9). *Zawāwī* means belonging *to the Zawāwā* (*Zoaves*), a great tribe which, with its numerous branches and subdivisions, inhabits the country outside of Bijāyah (*Bugia*), a government (*town*) in the province of Ifrīqiyah.

775 YAḤYĀ IBN AL-MUNAJJIM

Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā was the son of 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Abū Manṣūr, surnamed *al-Munajjim* (*the astrologer*),

---

1 It is probably by error that this surname is here written *Ibn Abd al-Muṭī'*. In the grammar of Ibn Mālik, verse 5, and in the first verse of the author's own grammar (see Ḥājī Khalīfah's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 415), we read *Ibn Muṭī'*, and such is the appellation by which he is generally known. In the *Bibliographical Dictionary of the grammarians* by al-Suyūṭī, the surname given to him is also *Ibn Muṭi'*.

2 His grammatical treatise entitled the *Alfiyah*, because it consisted of about one thousand verses, was in great repute till outdone by the treatise of Ibn Mālik which bears the same title. The *Fuṣūl* or *aphorisms*, another of Ibn Muṭī' 's grammatical works, had a great number of commentators.

and whose real name was Abbān* Ḥasīs, the son of Urīd, the son of Kād, the son of Mihānidād Ḥasīs,† the son of Farukhdād‡ the son of Asad, the son of Mihr Ḥasīs, the son of Yezdegird (*the last of the Sasanid kings of Persia*). He commenced his career as a boon companion of al-Muwaffaq Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥah, the son of the khalif al-Mutawakkil and the father of the khalif al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh. Al-Muwaffaq never became khalif, but acted as the lieutenant of his brother, al-Mu'tamid 'alā-Allāh, and was constantly engaged in fighting against the Qarmaṭs. As his achievements in this war are well-known and would furnish matter for a long narration, this is not a fit place for relating them. After (*the death of*) al-Muwaffaq Yaḥyā (*Ibn al-Munajjim*) became the boon companion of the succeeding khalifs and, more particularly, of al-Muktafī bi-Allah, the son of al-Mu'tadid. He attained to a high rank in that prince's favour and was preferred by him to all the other courtiers and table-companions. He professed these doctrines of scholastic theology which were received by the Mu'tazalites and wrote a number of treatises on that subject. Sittings were held by him in the presence of al-Muktafī, and many shoolmen attended them. Amongst the numerous works composed by him, we may notice, the *Bāhir* (*eminent*) containing the history of such poets as had flourished under the two dynasties (*that of the*) *Umayyads and that of the 'Abbāsids*), It begins by an article on Bashshār Ibn Burd (*No. 110*) and ends with another on Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah (*No. 689*). His son Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā terminated this work, which had been left unfinished, and had the intention of adding to it an account of all the modern poets. He, in consequence, gave in it notices on Abū Dulāmah (*No. 228*) Wālibah Ibn al-Ḥubāb (*No. 162, note*). Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād (*No. 403*) Muṭī' Ibn Iyās (*No. 183, note*), and Abū 'Alī al-Baṣir. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was a scholastic theologian and, as a legist, he adhered to the system of jurisprudence drawn up by Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī (*No. 544*). The (*other*)

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd inserts 'Ibn' between Abbān and Ḥasīs—Ed.

† Muhāsid son of al-Ḥasīs in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

‡ Marūḥdād in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

works composed by him were, a history of his own family, in which he traced its origin up to the Persians, the *Ijmā'* (*general agreement*) treating of al-Ṭabarī's system of jurisprudence, a *Mudkhil* (*or introduction*) to the study of that system and a vindication of its principles, a *Kitāb al-Awqāt (treatise) on the hours of prayer* (?), etc. His father, Yaḥyā, had many curious and amusing encounters with al-Mu'taḍid such, for instance as that which Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (*No. 559*) gives in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*. "Yaḥyā Ibn al-Munajjim," says he, related as follows: 'It was one day in the presence of al-Mu'tadid, who was then in an angry mood. His *mawlā*, Badr, of whom he was very fond, came in and the khalif, having distinguished him at a considerable distance, laughed aloud and asked me who was the poet that said:

"In her face is an intercessor which obliterates the wounds she inflicted on our hearts; whenever she intercedes, she is heard with deference?"

I replied: 'It was al-Ḥakam Ibn 'Amr al-Sārī[1], who said so.' On this, he exclaimed: 'He has expressed the thought admirably well! let us hear the whole piece.' I, in consequence, recited to him these lines:

'O! how I suffer from a person who has driven away my sleep, so that it will return no more, and who has added fresh torments to those which afflicted my heart! The sun seems to be rising out of her shoulders, so handsome is her face; or rather, the moon is rising out of her buttoned vest. She is looked on with kindness by her lover, despite the wrongs he suffered from her (*cruelty*). and whatever she does is forgiven. In her face is an intercessor which obliterates the wounds she inflicted on our hearts; whenever she intercedes, she is heard with deference."

Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn Kushājim (*No. 128, note*), the celebrated poet, says, in that chapter of his work entitled *al-Maṣā'id wa 'l-Maṭārid*,

---

1 In some of the manuscripts this name is written *al-Shirī*.

['Abd al-Ḥamīd gives in the margin on the authority of *Murūj*: Al-Ḥakam Ibn Qanbarah al-Māzinā al-Baṣrī.—Ed.]

which treats of hunting lions with arrows, that Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim, who was the boon companion of (*the khalif)* al-Muktafī bi-Allāh, related as follows: "The Commander of the faithful, al-Muktafī bi-Allāh, was displeased with me because, when he was about returning from al-Raqqah, I set out before him and made the first stage of the journey by water. This I had been induced to do by Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad, the son of 'Abd al-Ṣamad (*No. 363*) who asked me go in the same boat with him. I did not think that the khalif would be displeased by my doing so or offended at my leaving him and staying away. When we arrived at (*the town of*) al-Daliyah, he gave orders that I should be taken back to Qarqīsiyah and remain there till I had killed a lion and sent it to him. I was therefore obliged to return, and a number of the vocal musicians, who had taken the water-conveyance, were sent back with me. I then wrote to khalif some verses, but could not induce him to relent; so, I returned to al-Raḥabah, and there went to lodge with Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Sa'īd al-Quṭrubullī. I passed the time with him in the enjoyments of life; and we had drinking parties, morning, noon and night. He was highly pleased with my society. One of our companions was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān, the grandson of (*the wazir*) Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt (*No. 669*). I then wrote from al-Raḥabah, to the wazir Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (*No. 438*) and, in my letter, I enclosed a piece of verse which I requested him to read to al-Muktafī. It runs as follows:

"Fortune would rather perish than procure us pleasure and unite us with our friends. She struck me and my brethren with an arrow which scared our souls and let them quite appealed. We were sent back when the rest of the company went forward on their way, and then our affliction was extreme. Were we told of such a misfortune as ours happening to any other, the recital would fill us with terror. We were orderd to hunt lions and, for my part, I should *think* it fortunate if the lion did not hunt us. Were we to disobey, then, you would find this *(proverb)* justified. *What people can obey if asked above their force*? Every task may be imposed on a man except that

which is impossible. Princes are always fond of jesting, but their jests are accompanied with speedy favours. The wazīr neglected us, and we were ruined: a man's deserts (*even*) is serving the cause of God, are (*sometimes*) unrequited. We stretched forth our hands to Him and our hopes took refuge in His bounty. He is an intercessor whose prayer is never rejected, even when the request of the ablest intercessor is not granted. The sports of kings brings on familiarity and fructify into gifts of real value.[1] You, the director of the khalif's empire! render us a service and speak to him in our favour: the best of men is he who is the most obliging."

This letter was put into the government letter-bag and sent off with Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān, the dispatch bearer. When (*the wazīr*) al-Qāsim received it, he did not lay it out of his hand till he went in to al-Muktafī and read to him both it and the poem. (*The khalif*) found the verses very good and gave orders that a letter should be immediately sent off, authorizing me to depart from the place where I was and to have myself provided with a conveyance, so that I might proceed to the (*khalif's*) court. In a very short time, the messenger brought me the letter and I started off. On arrivng in Baghdād, I recited to al-Muktafī the following verses:

"The nights which appeared to me so short in the Karkh (*a suburb*) of Baghdād, seemed very long when I was in Qarqīsiyah. Was it well done to depart and leave me there, like a pledge, me a stranger and unwell! I was the only one punished, yet I had accomplices in my fault; but patience! God is the only protector I require. If God grant that I return safe to Baghdād, before grief kills me, and, if He let me see that the khalif al-Muktafī, the descendant of the khalifs, he on whom our hopes are fixed, is still for me as he was, neither shewing me aversion not disapprobation nor altered sentiments, then indeed, all the pains I suffered will appear light because they were inflicted with a good intention."

The khalif admired this piece and was much touched with its contents: I perceived even from his looks and tone of voice that

1 Literally: saleable.

he pitied me". The anecdotes told of him are numerous and many of his productions are beautiful. He was born in the year 241 (A.C. 855-6), and he died on the eve of Monday, the 13th of the first Rabī', A.H. 300 (28th October, A.C. 912). We have already spoken of his father 'Alī (*No. 443*), of his brother Hārūn (*No. 759*), and of his nephew 'Alī (*No. 444*). I did not then trace up their genealogy, not having discovered it till I was drawing up the present article. I give it here as I found it written in the *Fihrist* (*No. 273, note*), of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm, but I do not attempt fixing the orthography of the proper names, not having the means of verifying them; so I transcribe them here as I found them.

776 ABŪ BAKR IBN BAQĪ

Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Baqī, a celebrated poet and a native of Cordova in Spain, was the author of the *muwashshahāt* (*stanzas, sonnets*), which are so much admired. Al-Fatḥ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Qaysī (*No. 500*), speaks of him in these terms, in his *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*[1] : "He was expert in verse and prose, firm and regular in the texture of his style[2]; he possessed *(great)* qualities and, by the beauties of his (*productions*), he embellished the morning (*assemblies and those of*) the evening. In the career of perfection, he sped on and reached the goal, and he built (*edifices*) of information on the most solid columns. But Fortune refused

1 Abu 'l-Fatḥ, better known by the surname of Ibn Khāqān, wrote in a style so affected, so full of obscure expressions and so extravagent in its metaphors, that the reader is very often in doubt respecting the true meaning of those turgid and pompous phrases. The extracts taken by Ibn Khallikān from his works have not been always reproduced correctly by the copyists, who evidently understood very imperfectly what they were writing. That may be seen in comparing the text of the passage here cited with that which al-Maqqarī, in his *History of Spain*, Vol. II, p. 59 of the Arabic edition, gives of the same passage. The translation here offered is probably not always exact.

2 Literally : numerous in the knotting of his threads and in the irregularity.

him her favours, cut and severed the cord of his pasturing (*in the enjoyments of life*) she accomplished none of his projects, neither did she shed on him one drop of prosperity. She granted not to him (سوغته) a just share of respect, and established him not in the fertility of a (*rich*) pasture-ground. He therefore became a rider (*a crosser*) of mountains, a traverser of deserts ; never halting for a single day and never finding people with whom he had a right to be pleased. And moreover, his mistrustful imagination was not to be overcome by (*the assurance of*) safety ; his mind was (*fickle and*) unstable, like the pearls of a broken necklace. (*This continued*) till Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim[1] snatched him out of that vacillation, granted to him the means of subsistence, raised him to the heaven in which he himself stationed, watered him with the stream of his bounty, furnished to him a retreat under the shelter of his (*patronage*) and prepared for him a path of comfort in which he might expatiate (*as he liked*). He (*Ibn Baqī*) lavished on him therefore (*the finest of*) his sayings, and, in return for many gifts, ennobled him in his rhymes, bestowed on him exclusively the most precious pearls (*of poetry*) and adorned his breast with the collars of brilliant *qasīdahs*". The same author speaks of him again in the *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān* and says : "It was he who bore aloft the standard of poetry, who possessed the talent[1] of open declaration and indirect allusion ; it was he who established the rules of that (*art*) and revealed its beauties ; the (*expressions the most*) untractable became obedient to his will. When he drew up verses, he put to shame the row of pearls on a necklace, and produced (*a poem*) more beautiful than robes of flowered silk ; and (*yet*) his evil fortune domineered (طغا) over him, and the days of his (*existence*) never brightened up." The following piece is attributed to Abū Bakr (*Ibn Baqī*), but I do not find it given by al-Fatḥ in either of the above mentioned works. It is, however, a very fine poem, one of the best composed by the author and the most generally known :

---

1 I can find no information respecting this Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim, but, from his names I am almost inclined to suppose that he descended from the Ḥammūdite branch of the Idrisīd family.

2 Literally : the sign, which probably means the distinguishing mark.

"Dearer to me, than the life of my father is that gazelle (*maiden*) whom my eyes saw with admiration (*as she roamed*) between al-'Udhayb and the banks of the (*river*) Bāriq. I asked her to let me gaze yet longer and thus allay the thirst of my passion, and she answered by a promise soon to be fulfilled. We passed the night in darkness under a canopy adorned with brilliant stars, and, whilst the night swept on, I handed to her a (*liquor*), dark as musk and, like it, fragrant to the smell. I held her to me (*as closely*) as the warrior grasps his sword ; and her two long ringlets hung, like the sword-belt, round my neck. At length, drowsiness overcame her and I removed her (*a little*) from me whilst she clasped me in her arms. I placed her at a distance from the heart which loved her, so that she might not have under her head a palpitating pillow. When I saw the night drawing towards its end and perceived that its (*dark*) locks and the crown of its head were turning grey, I bade adieu to my beloved and said, with a sigh : 'Give me the pain of seeing you depart.' "

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥyah (*No. 472*) has inserted some of these verses in the work which he entitled : *al-Muṭrib min ash'ār ahl il-Maghrib* (*volume of amusement, extracted from poems composed by natives of the West*). Another of Ibn Baqi's poems is a long *qasīdah* in which he praises Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim, the same person who has been already mentioned in this article. Here is an extract from the eulogistic part :

"There are two lights which cannot be hidden from mortals ; nobleness of character and beauty of aspect. Both are united in Yaḥyā ; so, let him renounce to the (*attempt of*) concealing that superiority which is evident to all. In every land, his praises spread a perfume which surpasses that of the penetrating vapours arising from the censer. Add to his qualities ; add to his generosity ; you might as well add leaves to the forest, water to the rain-cloud[1]. On that generous man rests the calm of gravity joined to such courage as is displayed by the lion in his den. He is like the sword which, even when hidden in the scabbard, appals the hearts of those who inhabit towns. He surpasses (*in bounty*) the dark

---

1 The last hemistich, rendered literally, signifies : between the grove and te hrain-cloud.

cloud, shedding its rains without interruption; he bestows as it does, but prayers are never offered up to obtain his beneficient showers. He puts to shame the copious ocean; for, in each of his hands, are five seas. I am come to obtain a share of your beneficence, which is as the pouring forth of the rains, or rather, the pure water of paradise. I saw that the countenance of prosperity, near you, was (*smiling and*) white, and therefore, to reach you, I rode across the green waters of every sea. Towards you speeded the ship which bore an able poet (ابلغ شاعر); it was (*obedient*), as the camel which is guided by a halter fastened to its nose. The daughters of A'waj[1] were fatigued with bearing me company; so many were the solitary deserts which they had to cross".

The author of the *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān* gives the following fragment of a piece by the same author:

"O thou who, of all mankind, art the most killing in glances and the sweetest in kisses! since when are aloes and honey combined in thee? Thy cheek is like the rising sun, and, on its surface, is a rose to which wine and modest shame add fresh colours. Love for thee is, for my heart, an article of belief, and is confirmed by the letters which issue from thy cheeks and by the messengers coming from thy glances. If you know not that I have lately lost my liberty, command me what thou wilt: I shall do it and obey. Couldst thou see my heart, thou wouldst perceive therein a wound not yet healed up and inflicted by thy glances".

The Kātib 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*) mentions him in the *Kharīdah* and inserts there some extracts from his poems; then, at the end of the book, he speaks of him again and gives, as his, the following verses:

"In a goblet was a cool (*wine*) which (*in aspect*), resembled a cornelian sky, studded with stars. (*That liquor*) has built a *ka'bah* (*temple*) for pleasure in the *ḥaram* (*sacred ground*) of youth and, to it, sports hasten on their pilgrimage from every side."

The poetry of Ibn Baqī offers numerous beauties. He died A.H. 540 (A.C. 1145). The word *Baqī* (بقي) takes an *a* and a double *i*.

---

1 A'waj was the name of a horse celebrated for his good qualities and the excellence of his breed.

777 MU'ĪN AL-DĪN AL-ḤAṢKAFĪ.

Abu 'l-Faḍl Yaḥyā Ibn Salāmah Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Mu'īn al-Dīn (*aider of the religion*) and generally known by the title of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḥaṣkafī (*the preacher of Hiṣn Kayfā*), is the author of a *dīwān* containing poems, exhortations and epistles. Born at Ṭanzah, he was brought up at Ḥiṣn Kayfā, whence he removed to Baghdād. In that city, he studied literature under the Khaṭīb Abū Zakariyā al-Tibrīzī (*No. 773*) and, by the solid information which he thus acquired, he rose to distinction. He studied also, with success, the Shāfi'ite system of Jurisprudence. Having left Baghdād with the intention of returning to his native place, he stopped al-Mayyāfāriqīn, where he fixed his residence and filled the office of a *khaṭīb*. He acted also as a *muftī* (*expounder of the law*) and gave public lessons which were highly profitable to those who attended them. The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*) mentions him in the *Kharīdah* and says: "In science, the most learned man of the time; in talent for poetry and prose, the Ma'arrī (*No. 46*) of the epoch; his were the elegant assonances and the admirable paranomasias, the parallelisms and (*their*) exactitude, the style firm and delicate, the thoughts simple and profound, the perfect *taqsīm* (*the expression of different ideas in the same verse*) and the talent (*of which the renown was*) widely spread and lasting." The same writer then says, after making a long eulogium of the poet and enumerating his merits: "I wished to meet with him, and flattered myself, that, on my arrival at Moṣul, I should see him; for I was ardently desirous of instruction and most assiduous in frequenting men of talent, for the purpose of augmenting my acquirements. But the length of the journey and my inability of supporting fatigue were obstacles which prevented our meeting." He then gives a number of passages extracted from the poems of this author and, amongst them, the following:

"I passed the evening in reprimanding a dissolute fellow, but he took my reproaches as a jest: 'Wine,' said I, 'is a bad thing.' He replied: 'God preserve it from turning bad!'—'It brings on obscene discourse,' said I. 'The pleasure of life is in such discourse,' said he. 'It excites vomition,' said I. 'I honour it,' said he, 'too well to discharge it by the ordinary passage; but,

after all, I shall give it up.' 'When ?' said I. 'When I am laid in the tomb.' "

I may here observe that the Khaṭīb borrowed the expression: *discharging by the ordinary passage*, from another poet with whose name I am unacquainted, but who composed the following (*fine*) verses which are currently known:

"A censor reproached me for loving wine, and I answered: 'I shall drink it whilst I live and even in my grave. Arise! pour me out a liquor, red, clear and and pure; though it is forbidden, I care not. Casuists declare that it is lawful when boiled down; but I have in my stomach a fire which will reduce it to one third[1]. If they ask me why I cast it up, my answer is: 'I respect it too much to discharge it by the ordinary passage'."

'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī adds: "A person of merit recited to me, at Baghdād, some verses similar to the five* which are so currently known. They are much admired for their natural turn and the art with which they are composed. Here they are:

"I complain to God of two fires (*which consume me*); one proceeding from the cheeks of my beloved, and the other lighted up by her in my heart. (*I complain*) of two maladies; one which her glances have excited in my blood, the other which is settled in my body. (*I complain*) of two delators; one is my tears which, when I think of her, betray my secret; the other, the spy who always watches over her. (*I complain*) of a double weakness; one is that of my patience, when I think of her and of my love; the other, that of people who think her obedient to my will. She is so thin and slender that I exclaim, in admiration: Is that her waist or my little finger? is that her skin or my own?"

One of his good pieces is that in which he satirizes a vocal musician and which we here give:

"A musician whose singing reduced him from riches to poverty; such a one I met with in an assembly of persons whom I liked to have for companions. When I saw him, my talent in my phisiognomy did not deceive me, and I said: 'what is that? can such a

1 The Ḥanafite doctors declared that the juice of the grape, boiled down to one third of its primitve volume, was a lawful drink.

* السيارات meaning planets.—Ed.

countenance ever become pleasing?' To remain no longer in doubt respecting him, I spoke from amidst the company, saying: 'Come, my man! sing us the air of: *O for the days passed at Sal'a*[1], *the days passed at Sal'a are not to be despised.*' On this; he raised up one of his eyebrows, lowered the other, and emitted from his mouth a fetid gale which filled the room and which, whilst he marked the measure, was, for every soul of us, a cause of annoyance. When he began to speak (*sing*), a person who was listening in a dark corner of the hall (الفنا) said: 'He is not satisfied with modulating and confounding (*notes*), but must also sing false! There he is for you! will he never have done calling his servant *scoundrel* and drawing near to us?[2] He pretends to scan (*to accent well the words of*) the air and only gets more embroiled!' His intonation was a cry frightful beyond the bounds of description[3]; he who had sent for him did not foresee the annoyance which the fellow would give to the company. Some of the assembly stopped their noses; others, their ears, and the rest covered their eyes, to avoid seeing him. I was so provoked that I could not refrain from expressing my indignation, and exclaimed: 'Listen sirs! I or the singer must be heard! Now I declare that I shall not sit down unless this man be sent away! drag the dog out by the heels! he is (*for us*) a cause of sickness and malady!' They answered: "You have pitied our sufferings and delivered (نذت*) from torture. Thus in sending him out, I secured my own tranquillity and obtained the thanks (*of the company*). When his face was turned from us, I recited this prayer at the head of the assembly: 'Praise be to God who has delivered us from affliction.' "†

---

1 According to the author of the *Marāṣid*, Sal'a was the name of a place in the neighbourhood of Madīnah.

2 The text is here corrupt, the manuscripts offering a number of various readings. The translation is probably not exact.

3 The right reading appears to be الثنا

* برلت in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† Abd al-Ḥamīd adds:

Despite of numerous compositions on the subject, I never came across such a piece:

Al-Khaṭīb, mentioned above, expresses the same idea:

(*Continued on page 295*)

In our article on the *Shaykh* al-Shāṭibī (*No. 512*) we have given a piece of his, forming an enigma the word of which is *bier*. The idea of it is very good. Most of al-Ḥaskafī's poetry is remarkable for this kind of wit and for the neat manner in which the thoughts are expressed. He was attached to the Shī'ite doctrines, as may be easily perceived in his poems. In the town of Āmid, were two youths who had a great fondness for each other and were always together[1]. One of them rode out to the country, set off at a gallop, the horse fell and he was killed. The other immediately sat down to drink wine, was choked by the liquor and died the same day. A literary man spoke of their fate in the following lines:

"They shared between themselves the clear draught of life and the troubled draught of death. We never before saw two equal partakers in the same destiny. They continued in mutual love till the last moment of their existence, and seldom does fidelity in love last till the hour of death."

When the Khatīb (*al-Ḥaskafī*) heard these lines, he said: "The poet did not work out the idea, not having mentioned the cause of their death; but I did so in a piece composed on the same occurrence and said:

"(*I should have given*) my life to save the two brothers who lived in Āmid and who received the stroke (*of death*) on a day unlucky and frowning (*'abūs*). One was killed by a horse and the other by wine (*khandarīs*)".

Had he said; "One was killed by a horse (*ṣāfināt*) and the other by liquor (*sāfiyāt*)" it would have been much better, on account of the assonance. The poet (*adopted this correction and,*

(*Continued from page 294*)

"He, who forces people to hear him sing, is veiled from the houses of the people and is denied admittance.

He sang then twinkled his eyes and shook his beard, then we said: The youth was undoubtedly epileptic,

He scanned the verse in a way that the most of us liked the tongue in his mouth had been cut off.

No allegation of people was brought against him but he was sent away slapped".—Ed.

1 This passage, in parenthesis, is omitted in most manuscripts.

to preserve the rhyme), altered the first verse somewhat in this manner:

My life *etc*.......... who received the stroke of death on a day severe in its evils (*adhāt*)."

I since found the two first mentioned verses in the *Kitāb al-Jinān**, a work composed by al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr (*No. 64*), who there attributes them to the eminent legist and teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥuṣayn Ibn Aḥmad al-Mu'allim; but I met with the account above given in the handwriting of a contemporary[1]. The Khaṭīb al-Ḥaṣkafī left some fine moral exhortations and some choice epistles. He continued to hold a high rank (*in public estimation*) and to teach up to the day of his death. This occurred A.H. 551 (A.C. 1156-7), or in 553, according to another statement. He was born in or towards the year 460 (A.C. 1067-8) *Ḥiṣkafī* means *belonging to Ḥiṣn Kayfā*, a strong and lofty castle situated between Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar and Mayyāfāriqīn. Had this adjective been formed regularly, it would have been *al-Ḥiṣnī*, which term is even sometimes employed; but, when a relative adjective is formed from two nouns one of which governs the other in the genitive, the two are (*generally*) combined together so as to make one word and from that word the relative is derived, and so it was in the present case. It is thus that from *Rās Ayn* has been formed *Rās'anī*; from *'Abd Allāh*, *'Abdalī*, from *'Abd Shams*, *'Abshamī*, and from *'Abd al-Dār*, *'Abdarī*; the same rule applies to all other names of a similar kind. *Ṭanzah* (طنزه) is the name of village in Diyār Bakr, situated higher up than Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar. It has produced some eminent traditionist and other learned men, all of whom bore the surname of *al-Ṭanzī*. The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says, in the *Kharīdah*: "From this village came Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭanzī, the same who composed these verses:

"I still love the land of Ṭanzah, though my townsmen, since I left them, deceived my expectations. May God bless that land! could I again see its soil, I should take it as a collyrium for my eyes, so dearly do I love it."

---

1 According to another reading: of a Maghribin.

* Al-Ḥisān in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

The same author adds: "This poet was still alive in the month of Ramaḍān, 568 (April-May, A.C. 1173).

778 YAḤYĀ IBN TAMĪM AL-ṢANHĀJĪ.

Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs al-Ḥimyarī al-Ṣanhājī *(No. 123)*, was a sovereign of Ifrīqiyah and the neighbouring countries. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 123*) and traced up their genealogy; some of his ancestors also have been mentioned in this work. He was appointed to act as his father's lietuenant at al-Mahdiyah, on Friday, the 25th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 497 (19 September, A.C. 1104), at the moment in which the seventh degree of Capricorn was the ascendant. On the day of his father's death, when the supreme authority devolved on him, he was aged forty-three years, six months and twenty days. He then rode out (*in state*), according to custom, with all the officers of the empire around him, and, on returning to the palace, he gave to every person connected with government, such as the courtiers and the (*chiefs of the*) troops, magnificent robes of honour to replace the *(mourning)* dresses which they had put on in consequence of the death of Tamīm. He distributed also to the soldiers *(jund)* and (*armed*) Negro slaves large sums of money, and made them most flattering promises. In the *Kitāb al-Jam'a wa 'l-Bayān* (*collection and exposition*) a work treating of the history of Qayrawān and composed by 'Izz al-Dīn (*the glory of religion*) 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Shaddād Ibn Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, who was the son of Yaḥyā's brother, I found the following passage: "The amīr Tamīm, a very short time before his death, sent for his son Yaḥyā, who was then in the government palace (*dār al-Imārah*) with his officers and companions. Yaḥyā entered with them all, and they found Tamīm in the treasury room. He told them to sit down and said to one of the company: 'Arise! go into that closet and look for a book of such and such an appearance, it is in such and such a place; go and bring it here.' The man went and brought the book which, on examination, proved to be a

collection of predictions relative to the fate of empires[1], 'That is it;' said he, 'count off from the beginning so many leaves and read the page to which you come'. There, the following words were found written: *The king against whom treason shall be wrought* (*al-malik al-maghdūr*) *will be of a lofty stature, have a mole on the right thigh and a black spot on the left side.* The amīr Tamīm then told him to shut the book and put it back into its place. When that was done, he said: 'Two of those marks I have already seen, but the third remains to be discovered. Rise up, you, *Sharīf*! and you, such a one, and procure me certain information respecting the third.' They rose up and went with Yaḥyā into a place where they could not be seen by Tamīm. Yaḥyā then uncovered his body and showed them, on his left side, a spot shaped like a crescent. They returned to Tamīm and informed him of the circumstance, on which he said: It is not I but God that has given him (*the power*)! He then spoke to them in these terms: 'I shall relate to you an extraordinary occurrence; a slave-merchant offered me for sale the girl who became that man's (*Yaḥyā's*) mother. I found her handsome and, my mind being inclined towards her, I purchased her and placed her in the hands of the attendants of the palace. I then told the merchant to come to me another time for payment, and I began to consider where I could find money pure (*in the sight of God*) and acquired by lawful means, with which I might pay the price. Whilst I was reflecting on the matter, I heard al-Sāmikī[2] calling out in a loud voice and requesting permission to speak with me. I passed my head out of the window and asked him what he wanted. He replied: 'I was just this moment digging in the (*ruined*) palace of al-Mahdī and found there a trunk closed with a padlock; so I left it as it was and am come to inform you of the fact.' I sent with him a person in whom I could confide, and they found in the trunk a quantity of robes embroidered with gold fringes and rotten with age. I ordered the fringes to be melted down and thus obtained neither more nor less than the price of the young girl.' The

1 In Arabic, *Malḥamah*. See my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, vol. II, p. 226.

2 I suppose that the word السامكى * is aproper name.

* السائل (*begger*) in 'Abd al-Hamīd.—Ed.

persons present were filled with admiration on hearing this recital and invoked on Tamīm the favour of God. Money and robes were then distributed to them by his orders; after which, they retired." 'Abd al-'Azīz the historian just mentioned, says also: "As to the book of which we have spoken, I met with it since, in the possession of the sulṭān al-Ḥasan, now deceased." He meant al-Ḥasan the son of 'Alī and the grandson of Yaḥyā. He then gives, from that book, a number of predicitons which received their accomplishment. Let us return to our account of Yaḥyā: Once seated on the throne, he took the direction of the affairs, governed his subjects with justice and reduced a number of fortresses which his father had been unable to take. 'Abd al-'Azīz says, in his History: "Under his reign," that is, the reign of Yaḥyā, "the Mahdī Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart (*No. 662*) arrived from Tripoli at al-Mahdiyah, on his return from the pilgrimage. He stopped at a mosque situated to the south of the Masjid al-Sabt (*the mosque of Saturday*) and there a number of people from al-Mahdiyah gathered round him for the purpose of studying, under his direction, some works treating of the fundamentals of the faith. He then took on himself the task of putting a stop to the many scandalous acts which were publicly committed and Yaḥyā, to whom his conduct was reported, assembled a number of the legists and had him brought before them. The humble appearance of Ibn Tūmart, his squalid dress and his profound learning made such an impression on the Amīr that he asked the man for his blessing. The other replied: 'May God prosper thee for the welfare of thy subjects and render their happiness profitable to thy offspring." Ibn Tūmart remained but a short time at al-Mahdiyah and then went to al-Munastīr where he stopped for a while, and, from that, he proceeded to Bugia." In the life of Tamim the father of Yahyā, we mentioned that Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart passed at Bugia (Bijāyah) whilst that prince was reigning; God knows if that be true! Farther on, 'Abd al-'Azīz says: "In the year 506 (A.C. 1113-4), some strangers arrived at al-Mahdiyah and asked for an interview with Yaḥyā, pretending that they were practitioners of the great art (*alchemy*) and that they had attained the end for which that art was institued. He allowed them to enter and, when they appeared before him, he asked to see a

specimen of their talent. To this they replied: 'We can deprive tin of its dimness and its particular sound, so that it is not to be distinguished from silver. Your Lordship has saddles, swords, standards, tents and vases worth many quintals of silver, in place of these we shall give you as much as you wish, as much as you can employ in the important affairs which engage your attention[1]; but you must allow us to operate (*before you*) in private.' To this he consented and admitted them to a place where they might work in his presence. The amīr had no person with him except the *Sharīf* Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī and the general Ibrāhīm, commander of the cavalry[2]. The operators, who were also three in number, had agreed upon a private signal; and as soon as they found a fair opportunity, one of them called out: *Dārat al-būṭaqah* (*the crucible is upset!*) Each of them then sprung forward, with a dagger in his hand, and rushed upon the person opposite to him. The amīr was sitting on a sofa; he who attacked him exclaimed: 'I am a saddler, and struck him on the top of the head. The blow cut through some folds of the turban but inflicted no wound. A second stroke, directed by an unsteady hand against his breast, merely scratched the skin. The amīr then struck the assassin with his foot and threw him on his back. The servants, hearing the noise, opened the door which gave on the room in which they were, and Yaḥyā, having gone in to them, bolted that door against his assailants. He who attacked the *Sharīf* did not leave off till he killed him. The *Qā'id* Ibrāhim, having drawn his sword continued to fight against the three till the guards broke in the door which was at their side, entered into the room and slew the assassins. As they wore the Spanish (*Muslim*) dress, a number of persons thus attired were massacred in the city. The amīr Yaḥyā went out immediately and walked through the streets till the tumalt was calmed." Yaḥyā governed with justice, he was particularly watchful over the interests of his people and knew exactly what were the receipts and the expenditure of the administration; following thus the line of conduct which is marked out

---

1 وتستعمل ذلك في مهماتك, is the reading of the manuscripts and is here followed.

2 Literally: (*qā'id al-A'innah* (*leader of the bridles*).

by an intelligent mind and a sound judgement. In the books of the predictions he is designated by the title of *al-Maghdūr*, and how justly it was applied to him is demonstrated by the occurrence of which mention has been just made. He was well acquainted with history and biography, having read many books treating of these matters ; he was a protector of the weak, kind and charitable to the poor, whom he always provided with food in times of distress ; he admitted into his familiarity the men of learning and of merit, and kept in such order the (*nomadic*) Arabs who inhabited his territories, that they stood in awe of him and abstained from giving career to their avidity. He was well-skilled in the practice of astrology and the art of drawing judgements from the stars. His countenance was handsome ; over one of his eyebrows was a black spot ; his eyes were dark blue, his stature somewhat lofty and his legs thin. He had always at his court a number of poets, who went there to sing his praises and immortalize his renown in their *dīwāns*. One of them was Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Abi 'l-Ṣalt, the same of whom we have already spoken (*No. 101*). This post obtained Yaḥyā's protection after having travelled over many countries and been tossed by fortune from one place to another. He is the author of well-known epistle which treats of Egypt, its wonders, its poets, etc., and he composed a great number of fine eulogiums on Yaḥyā, on Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā and on al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, his grandson. Here is an extract from one of these poems :

"Restrain your mind from every passion except that of bestowing, and that of fighting, true glory is composed of bravery joined to liberality. Such is the conduct of Yayḥā whose gifts revived our expiring hopes, by the fulfilment of his promises. He bestows a whole flock of camels at a time, camels slender-limbed and smooth, or horses sleek and strong, full grown and robust. His are the lofty mind and the eye proudly glancing ; his the tents pitched on a mountain (*of glory*) on the keystone of the vault in which culminate the Pleiades. When he appears seated (*in state*) on the imperial throne, you have before your eyes a Joseph (*in beauty*) stationing in the sanctuary erected by David. The race from which he sprung wore, for their usual clothing, coats of plated mail, and had for dwelling-place the

backs of well trained steeds, obedient to the rein. (*They were*) envied because they had none to equal them ; and where shall we find a great man who is not exposed to envy! One common origin unites you all, but every sort of wood does not give out the perfume of the *lignum aloes*. I say to the rider who hurries on his camel, traversing the earth, from one desert to another : 'Pass not by a source of which the waters are pure; expect not, from the solid rock, a spring to quench your thirst. Here are the fountains of Yaḥyā which never run dry ; this is the way which leads to them; it is always open. Let your sword decide your claims: the dicision of the sword is not to be rejected[1].' "

He composed other poems besides those. Yaḥyā died on Wednesday, the festival of the Sacrifice, A.H. 509 (25th April, A.C. 1116). His astrologer said to him (*that*) day : "The casting of your nativity to-day announces for you evil fortune ; so, do not ride out". Yaḥyā followed his advice, and his sons proceeded (*without him*) to the Muṣallā (*No. 262, note*), accompanied by the great officers of the empire. When the prayer was over, they all entered into the presence of the sovereign for the purpose of offering him their salutations, according to the established custom. Chanters, then recited passages of the *Qur'ān* and poets repeated their verses ; after which, the company proceeded to the great saloon and partook of a repast. Yaḥyā stood up with the intention of going there but, on reaching the door, he made a sign to one of his slave-girls, and leant upon her for support ; he had then scarcely made three steps into the room when he fell down dead. His son 'Alī, whom he had appointed to act as his lieutenant at Sfax, a small town in Ifrīqiyah was sent for and, on his arrival, received (*from the people*) the oath of fidelity. Yaḥyā was buried in the palace (or *citadel*, Qaṣr), according to custom ; but, a year after, his remains were transported to Qaṣr al-Sīdah; one of the castles within the walls of al-Munastīr. This town is also in Ifrīqiyah. He left thirty male children. His son and lieutenant, 'Alī (*Ibn Yaḥyā*) was born at al-Mahdiyah on Sunday morning, the 15th of Ṣafar, 479 (1st June, A.C. 1086).

---

1 This last verse has no connexion with those which precede and must be out of its place.

On the death of his father, who had given him the government of Sfax, the principal officers of the empire assembled and drew up a dispatch in his father's name, ordering him to come to him in all haste. He received this message at night and set out immediately, escorted by some of the chiefs who commanded the (*nomadic*) Arabs. He travelled with the utmost diligence and arrived on the noon of Thursday, the day after the festival of the Sacrifice. The first thing he did was to hasten the internment of his father and to say over him the funeral prayer. Yaḥyā was buried on Friday morning, the 13th of D͟hu 'l-Ḥijjah. The new sovereign then held a sitting for the reception of the people; and they all entered and saluted him with the title of amīr (*imārah*). He then rode out at the head of his troops and bands, after which, he returned to the palace. It was under his reign that his brother Abu 'l-Futūh, the son of Yaḥyā went to Egypt, taking with him his wife Bullārah who was the daughter of al-Qāsim (*Ibn Tamīm*), and his son al-'Abbās, who was then a child at the breast. On his arrival at Alexandria, he was lodged in a palace and treated with great honour, by the order of al-'Āmir, who, at that time, was the sovereign of Egypt. He died in that city after a very short residence, and Bullārah married al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār, whose true name was 'Alī and of whom we have spoken in this work (*No. 460*). When al-'Abbās grew up, he was gradually advanced in dignity by al-Ḥāfiẓ, the sovereign of Egypt, and succeeded to al-'Ādil as Wazīr. Our professor Ibn al-At͟hīr (*No. 435*) has an article in his history, under the head of *various events of the year* 502, in which he speaks of the three men who went to Yaḥyā under the pretext of conversing with him on alchemy. According to him, they attacked Yaḥyā, that year, and then occurred what we have related. This event coincided with the coming of Abu 'l-Futūḥ and his companions fully armed, to the door of the palace; but they were refused admission. "Yaḥyā" says Ibn al-At͟hīr, was therefore convinced that they were all in the plot, and ordered Abu 'l-Futūḥ to be sent with his wife Bullārah to Qaṣr Ziyād (a *fortress situated between al-Mahdiyah and Sfax*), and there kept in confinement. Bullārah was his (*Abu 'l-Futūḥs*) cousin. On the death of Yaḥyā, his son and successor (*'Alī*) dispatched them by sea to Egypt, and they landed at Alexandria." End of the extract.

Things continued to go on prosperously till the death of 'Alī, who expired on Tuesday, the 22nd of the latter Rabī', 515 (10th July, A.C. 1121). He was buried in the *Qaṣr*. Before dying, he designated his son Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā as his successor in the supreme authority. Al-Ḥasan was born in the town of Ṣūṣah and in the month of Rajab, 502 (February, A.C. 1109). On the day of his accession, he had attained the age of twelve years and nine months. The day after his father's death, he appeared in public and, having received the salutations and good wishes of the people, he rode out in the midst of his troops. The events which occurred during his reign are too numerous to be related and we shall only notice one of them. Roger the Frank, sovereign of Sicily, took Tripoli of Africa, by assault, on Tuesday, the 6th of Muḥarram, 541 (18th of June, A.C. 1146), massacred all the (*male*) inhabitants, reduced to slavery the women and children, and seized on all their wealth. He then began to repeople it and filled with men and military stores. On Monday, the 12th of Ṣafar, 543 (1st of July, A.C. 1148), he occupied al-Mahdiyah, which had been evacuated by al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī. This prince, feeling his inability to resist an attack, had departed from the city, carrying off with him whatever objects of value could be easily transported. All the inhabitants fled with the exception of such as were too feeble to depart. The Franks took possession of the city and found there an immense quantity of money and treasure. This family produced nine kings; the first Zīrī Ibn Manād (*No. 234*), and the last, al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, with whom fell the dynasty of the Bādisids, which had subsisted two hundred and sixty-eight* years. Al-Ḥasan retired to al-Malga, a strong castle in the neighbourhood of Tunis (*and near Carthage*), which was then held by Abū Maḥfūẓ Maḥriz Ibn Ziyād, one of the Arab chiefs[1]. He underwent there such vexation and annoyance from Maḥriz that he did not make a long stay and resolved on going to Egypt and putting himself

---

1 For a fuller account of these events and of the persons here named, see the second volume of my translation of the *History of the Berbers*, by Ibn Khaldūn.

* One hundred and eight years in 'Abd al-Hamīd. Both the statements are wrong. The actual duration was 208 years (A.H. 334 to A.H. 543).—Ed.

under the protection of al-Ḥāfiẓ, the Fātimid sovereign of that country. When the officer whom Roger had left in al-Mahdiyah as his lieutenant heard of al-Ḥasan's intention, he sent spies to watch his proceedings and fitted out twenty galleys for the purpose of seizing him if he retired by sea. Al-Ḥasan, being informed of this, gave up his project and resolved on going to 'Abd al-Mūmin Ibn 'Ali (*No. 383*), in the city of Morocco. He therefore sent three of his sons to Bugia, a city lying at the extreme limit of Ifrīqiyah, with directions to ask from (*Yaḥyā Ibn 'Azīz*) the sovereign of that city, the permission to set out from thence for Morocco. This prince, fearing that, if al-Ḥasan reached 'Abd al-Mūmin, they would both concert some plan detrimental to himself, dissimulated his real intentions and sent back the messengers with a letter filled with a profusion of fair promises and containing these words: "There is no necessity for your going to 'Abd al-Mūmin; I shall do for you every thing you can desire." Al-Ḥasan set out, in consequence, for Bugia; but, on arriving near that city, he found that the sovereign, instead of coming out to meet him, hād given orders to transport him to Algiers, a town situated beyond Bugia. Al-Ḥasan was taken to Algiers and lodged in a place by no means suitable to a person of his rank. The daily allowance of provisions assigned to him was quite insufficient for the number of his followers, and he was prevented from going about. It was in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (May-June, A.C. 1149) that he arrived in Algiers. In the year 547, 'Abd al-Mūmin took Bugia, and the sovereign of that city fled to Constantine.[1] Roger, the sovereign of Sicily, died in the first third of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 548 (February, A.C. 1154), and had for successor his son William I.[2] It was to the prince (*William II*) that Abu 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Qalāqis, the poet of whom we have spoken (*No. 735*), went to recite laudatory verses. This was in the year 563 (A.C. 1167-68). On

1 Ibn Khallikān has written, by mistake, *al-Qusṭanṭīniyah* (*Constantinople*) instead *of Qusanṭīna* (*Constantine*). See the *Historie des Berbers*, t. II, p. 58.

2 In the Arabic text this name is written غنيم (*Ghinīm*) The same name is written غليلم (*Ghulielm*) in the inscription traced on the parapet of the Old Norman palace called La Cuba, near Palermo. See Mr. Amari's article in the *Revue archeologique* of 1849, p. 669.

the death of William, the authority passed to his daughter, who became the mother of the emperor of Germany (*al-anbirūr malik al-Lāmāniyah*), the same who is still living. When she died, her son, who was then a child, obtained the supreme power. He has reigned a long time, is clever and intelligent, and keeps up a regular intercourse by letters and otherwise with al-Malik al-Kāmil (*No. 668*), the sovereign of Egypt. God knows how far these indications may be true! 'Abd al-Mūmin arrived before al-Mahdiyah (*which was then in the hands of the Franks*) and took it after a most obstinate resistance. He made his entry into the city on the festival day of 'Āshurah, A.H. 555 (21 January, A.C. 1160) and established there a lieutenant.[1] Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī (*whom he had found at Algiers*) accompanied him in this expedition and, being well acquainted with the resources of the country, was now left with that lieutenant for the purpose of assisting him in the direction of affairs. Two farms in the neighbourhood of the city were assigned to him for his support, and a house was given to him in which he might reside with his sons and followers. I have not been able to discover the date of his death.[2] Maḥriz Ibn Ziyād, the chief above mentioned, was killed at the combat of Satīf,[3] on a Thursday, in the second third of the latter Rabī, A.H. 555 (April, A.C. 1160).[4] It was for this al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī that Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz composed the work entitled *al-Ḥadīqah* (*No. 101*).

779 YAḤYĀ THE BARMAKID

Abu 'Alī* Yaḥyā, the Wazīr of Hārūn al-Rashīd, was the son of Khālid and the grandson of Barmak. We have already

1 See *Histoire des Brebers*, t. II, p. 589.

2 Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī died, A. H. 563 (A. C. 1167-68).

3 The combat of Satīf, in which the Almohades, commanded by 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Abd al-Mūmin, defeated the Arabs of Ifrīqiyah, took place in the year 546 (A.C. 1151-2). (*Histoire des Berbers*, t. II, p. 190).

4 According to the author of the same work, t. II, p. 194, Maḥriz was killed at the battle of Qayrawān, A.H. 556 (A.C. 1161).

* Abu al-Faḍl in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

spoken of his sons, Ja'far, (*No. 129*) and al-Faḍl (*No. 502*). Their ancestor Barmak was a Magian of Balkh and the servant (*officiating minister*) of the Nawbahār, a place of worship which the Magians had in that citiy. It was he who lighted therein the (*sacred*) fires. Barmak and his sons were generally designated as the *sādins* (or *guardians*) of that temple. He was a man of great authority among those of his religion. I do not know whether he became a Muslim or not. His son Khālid rose to power under the 'Abbāsids and succeeded to Abū Salāma. Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl (*No. 194*) as Wazīr to Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Safaḥ. We have spoken of him in the article on Ja'far and mentioned there the date of his death. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī says, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab* : "The height to which Khālid Ibn Barmak attained in prudence, bravery, learning, generosity, and other noble qualities was never reached by any of his sons : Yaḥyā did not equal him in judgement and intelligence, nor al-Faḍl, the son of Yaḥyā, in liberality and disinterestedness, nor Ja'far, the son of Yaḥyā, in epistolary writing and elegance of language, nor Muḥammad, the son of Yaḥyā, in nobleness and elevation of mind, nor Mūsā, the son of Yaḥyā, in bravery and energy. When Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī (*No. 347*) sent Qaḥṭabah Ibn Shabīb al-Tā'ī against Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī, who was governing two 'Irāqs in the name of the (*Umayyad Khalif*) Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, Khālid was one of those who accompanied him. They halted, on the way, at a village and, whilst they were breakfasting on the terrace of one of the houses, they saw several flocks of gazelles and other wild animals coming from the desert and approaching so near that they got (*into the camp*) among the soldiers. 'Amīr ! ' said Khālid, 'order the men to saddle and bridle ! ' Qaḥṭabah stood up in amazement and, seeing nothing to alarm him, said : 'What do you mean, Khālid ! by this advice ? ' The other replied : The enemy are in march against you ; do you not see that, if these flocks of wild animals draw so near to us, they must be flying before a numerous body of men? The troops were scarcely on horseback when the dust (*raised by the approaching army*) was perfectly visible. Had it not been for Khālid, they would all have perished." As for Yaḥyā, he was perfect in talent, judgment and noble qualities.

Al-Mahdi, the son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, placed his child, Hārūn al-Rashīd, under his care and confided to him the boy's education. When Hārūn became khalif, he acknowledged his obligations to Yaḥyā and said to him: "My dear father! it is through the blessings and the good fortune which attend you and through your excellent management that I am now seated on this throne ; so, I confide to you the direction of affairs." He then handed to him his signet-ring. Allusion to this is made in the following lines, composed by al-Mawṣilī, a poet whom I suppose to be the same person as Ibrāhīm al-Nadim (*No. 9*) or else his son, Iṣhāq (*No. 84):*

"Did you not see that the light of the sun, once languishing (*and dim*), brightened up on the accession of Hārūn? (*That happened)* through the good fortune which attends God's trusty servant, Hārūn the benficient; Hārūn is now chief of the state and Yaḥyā is his wazīr."

Al-Rashīd had so deep a respect for Yaḥyā, that, in speaking of him, he always called him *my father*, and authorised him to take the initiative in every affair and bring it to a conclusion. This lasted till he overthrew the Barmakids. Being then irritated against Yaḥyā, he imprisoned him for life and put to death his son Ja'far, as we have already related. Yaḥyā was highly distinguished for wisdom, nobleness of mind and elegance of language. One of his sayings was ; "Three things indicate the degree of intelligence possessed by him who does them : the bestowing of gifts, the drawing up of letters and the acting as ambassadors." He used to say to his sons : "Write down the best things which you hear ; learn by heart the best things which you write down ; and, in speaking, utter the best things which you have learned by heart." He said also: "This life is a series of vicissitudes, and wealth is *(given to us as)* only a loan ; let us follow the models (*of virtue*) offered by our predecessors and leave a good example to those who come after us." Al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān (*No. 505)* states that he heard Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid say : "As for the man to whom I have done no good, I have always before me the choice (*of doing so or not)*, and as for him to whom I have done good, I am engaged to serve him (*for the future*)." The *Qāḍī* Yaḥyā

Ibn Aktham (*No. 766*) related as follows: "I heard al-Māmūn say: 'Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid and his sons had none (*to equal them*) in ability, in elegance of language, in liberality and in bravery; it was well said by a poet that:

'The sons of Yaḥyā are four in number, like the elements; when put to the test, they are found to be the elements of (*which*) beneficience (*is formed*)'

I said to him: 'Commander of the faithful! their ability, their elegance of language and their liberality we all acknowledge; but in which of them was courage?' He replied: 'In Mūsā, the son of Yaḥyā; I had even the intention of establishing him as governor in the frontier province of Sind.'" Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, the son of Ibrāhīm al-Nadīm, states that his father made to him the following relation; "I went to Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid Ibn Barmak, and complained to him of a (*pecuniany*) embarrassment. He answered: 'Alas! what can I do for you? I have nothing at the present moment. However, I shall point out to you a thing which I hope you will be the man to execute: The agent of the governor of Egypt came to see me and requested me to ask a gift from his master for myself. I refused, but he still insists. Now, I am told that such a one, your slave girl, cost you three thousand (*dīnārs*); so here is what I may do; I shall ask him to make me a present of that girl and tell him that she pleases me very much; but do not you consent to sell her for less than thirty thousand dīnārs. You will then see what will happen.' Well, by Allāh! I had scarcely time to look about me when in came the agent. He asked me how much I would take for the girl; I replied that I would not dispose of her for less than thirty thousand dīnārs; he continued bargaining with me and finished by offering twenty thousand. When I heard this sum mentioned, I had not the heart to refuse it and I sold her. Having received the money, I went to see Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid. He asked me what I had done in the sale of the girl, and I replied: 'By Allāh! I could not refrain from accepting twenty thousand dīnārs, as soon as I heard the offer.' He answered: 'That was mean-spiritied on your part; but the agent of the governor of Persia has come to me on a similar mission; so, here is your girl; take her

back and do not sell her for less than fifty thousand dīnārs when he goes to bargain with you for her. He will certainly give you that price. This man came to me, and I asked fifty thousand dīnārs. He began to bargain and, when he offered me thirty thousand, I had not the heart to refuse that sum and could scarcely believe my ears. I accepted this offer and then went to Yaḥya, the son of Khālid. 'For how much did you sell the girl?' said he. I told him, and he exclaimed : 'You unfortunate fellow! was your first (*fault*) not sufficient to prevent you from committing a second?' I replied : 'My heart was too weak to refuse a sum for which I could have never hoped. 'Here' said Yaḥyā, 'is your girl; take her and keep her!' I replied : 'I have gained by her fifty thousand dīnārs and am again become her owner. Bear witness that I declare her free and that I promise to marry her.' " It is thus I found the anecdote related, but I since met with the history of the wazīrs composed by al-Jihshyāri (*No. 359, note*), and there I read that Ibrahīm al-Mawṣilī was told by Yaḥyā not to accept less than one hundred thousand dīnārs and that he sold her for fifty thousand, and that, the second time, he was told not to accept less than fifty thousand and that he sold her for twenty thousand. Al-Aṣma'ī (*No. 354*) related as follows: "I went, one day, to visit Yaḥyā and he said to me : 'Tell me, Aṣma'ī! are you married?' I replied that I was not. 'Have you a slave-girl?' said he. I answered : 'I should willingly be indebted to you for one.' He then ordered a young girl to be brought in : she was in the height of beauty, of grace and of elegance : and he said to her : 'I give you to this man ;' and then he told me to take her. I thanked him and was wishing him every happiness when she burst into tears and exclaimed : 'O my lord! how can you give me away to such a man as that? do you not see how deformed and ugly he is?' He said to me : 'I will give you in exchange for her two thousand dīnārs.' I answered: 'I have no objection to that.' The money was given to me and the girl was taken back to Yaḥyā's house. That girl, said he, 'did something to displease me, and I meant to punish her in giving her to you, but then I had pity on her.' 'Why did you not inform me of that previously' said I, 'so that I might have reassumed my pristine form ; you should at least have allowed me to comb my beard, wipe my

eyes, perfume my person and make myself handsome.' He laughed *(at this sally)* and ordered another thousand dīnārs to be given to me". The following anecdote was related by Isḥāq al-Nadīm: When Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid rode out, the usual gift which he bestowed on those who went up to him with an application was two hundred dirhams.[1] One day, as he was riding out, a literary man, who was also a poet, drew near to him and said :

'O thou who art the namesake of Yaḥyā the chaste (*saint John the Baptist* !) the bounty of the Lord hath assigned to thee a double paradise (*one on earth and the other in heaven*). Two hundred (*dirhams*) is the gift of everyone who cross with thy path; but that sum is too little for a man like me; 'tis what he receiveth from thee who runneth the quickest ! "

Yaḥyā replied : "You say true; let this man be taken to my house." When he returned from the khalif's residence, he asked the man what was his business and received this answer : 'I have contracted marriage and am under the necessity of filling one of three obligations : either to pay the dowry (*which I have settled on my wife and*) which amounts to four thousand dirhams (£ 100), or to divorce (*her*) to pay (*her*) a pension till such time as I shall have the means of procuring the bride's outfit.' Yaḥyā gave orders that he should receive four thousand dirhams for the dowry, four thousand for the purchase of a dwelling, four thousand for the requisite furniture of a house, four thousand for the reception of the bride and four thousand for future maintenance. He received the twenty thousand and departed." Muḥammad Ibn Munādhir (*No. 127, note*) the celebrated poet, related as follows : "Al-Rashīd made the pilgrimage with his two sons, al-Amīn Muḥammad and al-Māmūn 'Abd Allāh. Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid accompanied him with his two sons, al-Faḍl and Ja'far. When they arrived at Madīnah, al-Rashīd held a public sitting with Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid, and distributed to the inhabitants the customary donations. Al-Amīn then held a sitting with al-Faḍl and distributed donations; after which al-Māmūn, accompanied by Ja'far, did the same. For this reason, the people of Madīnah

1 About five pounds sterling.

named that *year of the three donations.* Never had they seen the like before. I composed, on this subject, the following verses[1] :

"They are come to uṣ, the descendants of the kings belonging to the family of Barmak. What good news! what a beautiful sight! Their rule is, to make, every year, an expedition against the enemy and a journey to the Temple ancient and pure. When they halt in al-Baṭḥā (*the valley*) of Makkah, that (*city*) is illuminated by their presence. Baghdād is then in darkness and, whilst they perform the pilgrimage, three moons dispel the shades which covers us in Makkah. Their hands were created for nothing else but deeds of liberality, and their feet were made of (*treading*) the boards of the pulpit."

The Khaṭīb (*No.* 33) says, in the article on Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī (*No. 618*) which he inserted in his History of Baghdād, that he (*al-Wāqidī*) related as follows: "I traded in corn at Madīnah and had in my hands one hundred thousand dirhams which had been lent to me in order that I might make them productive. This money I lost and then I went to 'Irāq for the purpose of seeing Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid. Having sat down in his antechamber, I entered into conversation with the servants and door-keepers, and asked how I could get to see him. They answered: 'When his dinner is taken in to him, no one is prevented from entering; we shall then admit you.' When the dinner was brought, they let me in and seated me with him at the same table." 'Who are you?' said he, 'and what do require?' I told him and, when the dishes were removed, we washed our hands; after which I went over to him with the intention of kissing him on the head, but he drew back from me. When I (*retired and*) reached the place where the guests mount their horses on departing, a servant came to me with a purse containing one thousand dīnārs and said: 'The Wazīr wishes you a good evening; he bids you help yourself out of your difficulty with this and requests you to come to see him to-morrow morning.' I returned to see him (*the next morning*) and sat down to table with him, and he began

1 M. de Sacy has given these verses in his *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. I, p. 13.

to question me as he had done the day before. When the dishes were removed, I went up to him for the purpose of kissing him on the head, but he drew back from me. On my going to the mounting-place, a servant brought me a purse containing one thousand dīnārs and said: 'The Wazīr wishes you a good day, bids you help yourself out of your difficulties with this and requests you to return tomorrow.' I took the money, retired, and, the next day, went again to see him. He then gave me as much as I had received the two days previously. On the fourth day, I went to visit him as I had done before, and he then allowed me to kiss him on the head. 'I did not at first permit you to do so,' said he, 'because I had not rendered you a service which entitled me to that mark of respect. But now, I have been of some use to you.' (*He then called his servants and said*:) 'Boy let such and such a house be given to this man; Boy! fit it up with such and such a set of furniture; Boy! give him two hundred thousand dirhams, the half to pay his debts and the other half to put him in better circumstance. 'He then said to me: 'Become my companion and reside in my house. I replied: 'May God exalt the Wazīr! I hope you will allow me to return to Madīnah that I may repay there what I owe; after that, I shall reappear in your presence; that, for me, would be more befitting.' He gave his consent and furnished me with every requisite for travelling. I went to Madīnah, paid my debts and, having returned, I never quitted him since."—Abū Qabūs al-Ḥimyāri* went, one day, to see him and recited to him the following verses:

"May the plentitude of God's favour descend on Yaḥyā, who bestows such gifts as not a man before him ever gave. He forgets the services which he renders, but never forgets his promise."

Yaḥyā granted to the poet what he came to apply for and bestowed on him also a sum of money. I may here observe that the (*idea expressed in the*) second verse was afterwards (*borrowed and*) applied by Sharaf al-Dawlah Muslim Ibn Quraysh (*No. 647, note*): A man said to him: "Amir! do not forget my demand,"

* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd observes: The name occurs in *Kitāb al-Wuzarā wa al-Kuttāb* as Abū Qābūs 'Umar Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥīrī, which is correct because he was a Christian of Ḥīrah.—Ed.

and he replied : "Not till I have fulfilled it." Muslim Ibn al-Walīd al-Anṣāri[1] makes *(honourable)* mention of Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid in the following passage :

"Mayest thou *(fair maid)* be ever fortunate ! knowest thou not that during those nights which had borrowed their darkness from the colour of thy hair, I used to wait with patience till their obscurity was dispelled by the brightness of a face which shone like the face of Yaḥyā, when *(his son)* Ja'far was mentioned *(with commendation)*."

Yaḥyā used to say : "Spend when Fortune turns towards you, for her bounty cannot then be exhuasted, spend when she turns away, for she will not remain with you." He said also : "The benefactor who reminds *(a person)* of a service rendered alloys the value of that service ; and he who forgets a favour received is guilty of ingratitude and neglect of duty."

Another of his sayings was : "The sincere intention *(of doing a good action)* and a legitimate excuse *(for not doing it)* are equivalent to its accomplishment." He said again: "In adverse fortune, wiles *(and stratagems)* led to perdition." Al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No. 169*) was heard to say : 'When a man's conduct towards his brethern is changed on obtaining authority, we know that he is not fitted for that place[2] ; so said the president of the board of generous actions, Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid Ibn Barmek." Yaḥya had a private secretary whom he admitted into his familarity. This secretary resolved on having his son circumcised, and people of all classes made preparations for being present at the ceremony. The great officers of the empire, the chiefs of the civil administration and the government-writers offered, all of them presents suitable to their respective ranks. A friend of the secretary, being in reduced circumstances and unable to satisfy his desire of doing like the others, took two large and clean bags, filled one of them with salt, the other with perfumed potash, and

---

1 This Muslim died A.H. 208 (A.C. 823-24). We have spoken of him in *No. 10, note.*

2 Literally : We know that authority is greater than he.

sent them to him with a letter of which we give here a copy: "Could I fulfil my will, I should conform to the custom and, if my means permitted me to accomplish my ardent desire, I should outdo even the foremost in the race of generosity and surpass those who make the greatest efforts to shew you honour. But my means preclude me from doing what I wish and the narrowness of my fortune prevents me from engaging in a rivalry with the wealthy. Fearing, however, that the register of our gifts should be closed before the inscribing of my name therein, I send you some of that which, at the beginning (*of a repast*), brings good luck and a blessing, and of that which concludes (*the repast*) by its perfume and cleansing quality. (*In so doing*) I bear with patience the pain which my inability gives me, and support the anguish of not having the power to execute (*my intentions*). But, as long as I find not the means of filling my duty towards you, I shall offer, for my excuse, this word of almighty God: *No blame shall be incurred by those who are weak, or by the sick, or by those who find not wherewithal to contribute.* (*Qur'ān, sūr. 9, verse 92.*) Receive my salutations." When Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid arrived at the place where the festival was held, his secretary shewed him all the presents which he had received and even the two bags with the accompanying letter. The idea of sending these two objects appeared to Yaḥyā very good, and he ordered them to be filled with money and taken back to the person who had sent them. The sum thus given was four thousand dīnārs (£ 2,000). A man said to Yaḥyā: "By Allāh! thou art milder in temper than al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays (*No. 277*)," and received this answer: "Those who offer me more than I deserve shall not have a place in my favour." Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī called on one of his servant-boys and, not getting an answer from him, he said: "I heard Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid, observe that a man's mildness of temper is indicated by the ill-breeding of his servants." Yaḥyā was one day riding out with al-Rashīd when a man stopped before the khalif and said: "My mule is dead." Al-Rashīd replied: "Let five hundred dirhams (£ 10) be given." On this, Yaḥyā made him a sign and, when they dismounted, al-Rashīd said to him: "Father! you made me a sign about something and I do not understand what it meant." Yaḥyā

replied : "The mention of so small a sum as that should never proceed from your lips ; a person of your rank should say : five thousand, or ten thousand." "Well," said al-Rashīd, "and when a demand such as that is made to me, what shall I answer?" "You must then say:" said Yaḥyā, "buy him a mule." To conclude, we may observe that the anecdotes related of the Barmikid family are very numerous, and that an abridgment such as this will not admit the insertion of any more. When Hārūn al-Rashīd put to death Jā'far, the son of Yaḥyā the Barmakid, he reduced to ruin all the family and cast into prison Yaḥyā and al-Faḍl, the son of Yaḥyā. The place of their confinement was al-Rāfiqah, called also Old Raqqah and situated near the town of New Raqqah, which is a well-known place on the bank of the Euphrates. To designate both towns they say the two *Raqqahs*, giving thus to one name a predominance over the other. Examples of a similar licence are offered by the names *al-'Umarāni*,[1] *al-Qamarānī*[2] and some others. Al-Jihshyārī relates in his *History of the Wazīrs*, that, when Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid, was in prison, where they kept him closely confined, he had one day a longing to eat some *sikbājah*.[3] Having obtained, with great difficulty, the permission to prepare some, he cooked it, but, when he had finished, the skillet in which he had made it fell from his hand and was broken to pieces. On this, he recited some verses, upbraiding Fortune and expressing his loss of every hope and every desire. He remained in the prison of al-Rafiqah till his death, which event took place on the 3rd of Muḥarram, 190, (29th November, A.C. 805). He died suddenly, without any previous illness, being then seventy years of age, or seventy-four, according to another account. His son al-Faḍl said over him the funeral service. He was buried on the border of the Euphrates, in the suburb called Rabad Harthamah. In his pocket was found a paper on which was written in his own hand : "The accuser has gone forward (*to the tribunal*) and the

1 *Al-'Umrāni* (*the two 'Umars*), was a term employed to designate the two first Khalifs, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

2 The term *al-Qamarāni (the two moons)* was employed to designate the sun and the moon.

3 The *sibkājah* was a dish prepared with barley-meal, minced meat and vinegar.

accused will soon follow; the *Qāḍī* will be that equitable Judge Who is never unjust and who has no need of taking evidence." Al-Rashīd, to whom this paper was sent, wept, the remainder of that day, and his countenance, for some days after, bore striking marks of sorrow.[1] Yaḥyā settled a monthly pension of one thousand dirhams (£ 25) on Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No. 248*), and the latter used to say, when prostrated in prayer: "O Lord! Yāḥyā has delivered me from the cares of this life, deliver him from the pains of the next." When Yaḥyā died, one of his brothers saw him in a dream and asked him how God had treated him? To this he replied: "He forgave me in consideration of Sufyān's prayers." Some say that the Sufyān of this anecdote was Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*). God knows best! "Al-Rashid," says al-Jihshyāri, "repented of his conduct towards the Barmakids and deeply regretted the manner in which he had treated (*the prisoners*). He said, before some of his brothers that, if he could be assured of their fidelity, he would reinstate them in their places. He used also to say: 'Some people impelled us to punish our ablest and most faithful advisers, and they made us believe that they themselves were capable of replacing them; but, when we did what they wanted, they were not of the least use to us:' He then recited this line:

'Infamous wretches[2]! spare us your calumnies, or fill (*with ability*) the place which they filled (*so well*)[3].'

I may observe that this verse has for its author al-Ḥuṭay'ah (*No. 91, note*), and that, after it, comes the following:

"They were persons who, if they built, built well; if they took an engagement, they fulfilled it, and if they imposed an obligation, they rendered it binding."

Al-Zamakhsharī (*No. 684*) says, somewhat to this effect, in his *Rabī' al-Abrār*: "Under the bed of Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid, was found a paper on which was inscribed:

---

1 In some of the manuscripts, this biographical notice ends here.

2 The Arabic imprecation is : no father to your father, and seems to signify : may God's curse be on your ancestor.

3 The manuscripts belonging to Mr. Caussin de Perceral has اوشد وا النجار and the edition of *Bulāq* اوشدوا البجار, which readings I do not understand.

"By the reality of God! injustice is disgraceful; an unhealthy pasture-ground is that of injustice. We must go before him who shall retribute every action on the day of judgment; all adverse parties must appear before God."

*[I must now say[1] that I have inserted in this compendium the quantity (*of information*) which it was possible for a person to give who had but little leisure. I have omitted under this letter, which is the *Y*, a considerable number of articles which I intended to have inserted, but had not time enough (*ittasā'*) to do so. I have kept them back, with a great deal of rough drafts, so that they may serve (اعدها) for another (*Ākhar*) and a more extensive work which I mean to compile on the same plan, if God grant me time and if He aid me in my undertaking (*wa waffaq li 'l-'amal*). It shall contain (*muḥtawiyan*) a mass (*jumma'*) of that information which is required by persons who occupy themselves with these matters, and will dispense the reader from the necessity of recurring to a great number of books (*wa yastaghnī man yuṭāli'ahū 'an murajāt kutub kathīrah*); for I have selected my notes from standard works of history and from the (*authentic*) accounts given of those who lived in ancient and in modern times. To the best of my belief (*fī mā yaghlib 'alā Ẓannī*). I have not neglected to consult any of the noted works which are in the hands of the public or any of those which are less known (*al-khāmilah*) whether they were voluminous or concise; and I have always taken care to select therefrom whatever seemed fit to enter into (*fī*) this work. It is my intention, with the will and the help of God, that it shall form more than ten (*akthar min 'asharah*) volumes; but assistance must be demanded from the Almighty and His aid must be implored to direct me.[2]]

---

1 The following pararaph is to be found in professor Wustenfield's edition, but none of our manuscripts gives it except that which belongs to Mr. Cuassin de Perceval. It is omitted in the edition of Būlāq. I follow the text of Mr. Caussin's manuscript, that of the lithographied edition being very incorrect.

2 The work which our author here promised never appeard. The articles which follow were added to the present work by Ibn Khallikān himself, some years after the appearance of the autograph copy. See the note by which he concludes this work.

* [ ] Omited in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

INDEX

C

I

J

U

Printed at Modern Printers, Karachi.